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CURIOUS FACTS

OF

OLD COLONIAL DAYS.

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BY

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PREFACE.

As the first Bishop of Australia truly remarked, some of the greatest political questions agitating English Society were previously discussed in the Australian Colonies. Englishmen carried thither their love of freedom and their sense of justice. There, less governed by traditionary impulses, provided with more scope for action, and more strongly urged by the brighter future opening before their children, they have ventured not only to arraign the principles sanctioned by venerable antiquity, but have sought the emancipation of their adopted homes from the evils of the past, and have boldly claimed the individual right of Colonists to be free indeed.

The present sketches of Australian and Tasmanian history will mark the difficulties of progressionists, and indicate the ultimate triumph of freedom. The reader will be conscious of an era of despotic government, and detect the gradual awakening of a people to its rights. He will trace in these stories the development of opinion, and the march of events, in

connexion with those stirring problems of English politics—Education, and Church Establishments.

The advocates of a free press will sympathise with the sorrows of Colonial martyrs, and learn the forces that broke the fetters of newspapers.

To the religions, of all shades of belief, the narrative of Australian Churches cannot fail to be interesting. Authentic details of the social state of the Colonies in primitive times, the rise of different denominations of Christians in a new continent, and the conflicts for religious liberty, will be no less suggestive to the philosopher than important to the moralist.

The author desires to express his gratitude to the Colonial Secretaries of New South Wales and Tasmania, and also to the Secretary of the Australian Library in Sydney, for the assistance they gave him in the examination of old Colonial records.

JAMES BONWICK.

Acton, London,
May 1st, 1870.

CONTENTS

NEW SOUTH WALES

	Page
The First Preacher in Australia	1
The First Religious Service in Australia	7
The First Church in Australia	10
The First Churches in the Colony	13
The Church Clergyman	16
The Ministerial Clergyman	24
The Missionary Chaplain	29
The First Two Archdeacons of Australia	34
The First Bishop in Australia	39
The Battle of the Bishops	45
The First Bishop in the First Gold Field	50
Work of Bishop Broughton in New South Wales	54
The Rebel Clergymen	57
The Godless Norfolk Island	61
Rise of Roman Catholic Worship in New South Wales	65
The Persecuted Priests	70
The First Roman Catholic Church	75
The First Australian Wesleyan Methodists	78
The Wesleyan Pioneer of New South Wales	82
Rise of Presbyterianism in New South Wales	85
The First Independents in Australia	96
The Quaker Missionaries in Australia	102
The First Colonial Churchyard	105
The First Theatre	110
Geographical Ignorance	115
The First Schools in New South Wales	119
The Rum Hospital	124
Military Publicans	130

PAGE
Governor Bligh and the Spirit Dealers 127
The Old Licensing System 133
Morals in Early Sydney Days 135
Mrs. Fry's Newgate Women at Botany Bay 148
The First Newspaper in Australia 157
Sorrows of the first Australian Printer 163
Life and Death of Sydney Literature 170
The Great Rebellion in New South Wales 172

VAN DIEMEN'S LAND, NOW TASMANIA

The First Chaplain of Van Diemen's Land 231
The First Hobart Town Church 233
The Fighting Chaplain 239
Roman Catholicism in Hobart Town 243
The Early Wesleyans of Hobart Town 245
Rise of Presbyterianism in the Island 254
The Baptists in Australia 260
The First Independent Minister of Hobart Town 261
State of Morals in the Early Days 265
Sly-grog Trade in Van Diemen's Land 273
Female Prisoners of Van Diemen's Land 277
First Schools in Van Diemen's Land 283
The First Postoffice in Hobart Town 292
The First Newspaper in Van Diemen's Land 295
The "Gazette" 299
Troubles of the "Gazette" Printer 301
The Early Launceston Press 309
Persecution of the Press 311
Early State of Freedom 320

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

Wesleyan Struggles in Adelaide 330
Two Shipwrecked Missionary 332
The Independents of South Australia 340
The Protestant Episcopal Church in Adelaide 343
The First Bishop of Adelaide 347
Presbyterians in South Australia 347
No Church State Aid in South Australia 349

CURIOUS FACTS
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THE FIRST PREACHER IN AUSTRALIA.

When the expedition for the Botany Bay settlement was on the point of sailing, some friends of religion discovered that no arrangement had been made for a chaplain to the fleet. Nearly a thousand prisoners were to be carried from Christian Britain to raise a gaol in New Holland, and no provision was thought of respecting these moral outcasts. Soldiers, chains, seed, gunpowder, were all remembered; but no one in authority heeded the question of Bibles and clergymen. The first Bishop of Tasmania thus refers to this neglect: "There were constables, military guards, and a governor on board, everything to coerce the wretched exile, every secular means perhaps for his improvement,—but not one thought was bestowed upon the exile's soul."

Nothing in the history of the times can show more painfully the religious indifference, and even moral degradation, of England, than such conduct in 1787. Had it not been for Mr. Wilberforce and a few friends

of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, no missionary would have been sent. When, therefore, a representation of the case was made to the Minister of the Crown, he laughed at the Quixotic idea of the conversion of such desperate characters. He considered it an absurd undertaking, and a very useless expenditure of the government funds.

Permission was, however, granted for the appointment and passage of a clergyman; but the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had to supplement the pitiful government grant. A private religious institution had thus the honour of planting Christianity in Australia.

The recommendation of the minister came from Bishop Porteus and Sir Joseph Banks. The Rev. Richard Johnson was selected. The *Evangelical Magazine* for 1811 bears this testimony concerning that gentleman:—

"It is a singular circumstance attending this expedition, that the first chaplain of the colony, who embarked with the first cargo of convicts, was a man of excellent spirit, and a faithful minister of the Lamb of God. His labours were indefatigable in the colony."

During the voyage he held services whenever weather permitted, and, at the long halts at ports on the route, performed the usual clerical duties. Upon arrival on the shores of Port Jackson, amidst the firing of salutes, the revelry of banquets, the shouts of congratulation, no prayer was offered, and no

thanksgiving sung. The clergyman was ignored, and religion forgotten.

He was left without support; he laboured without sympathy. While every other department secured a share of public effort, no one cared for the minister, no one thought of a church. Should the chaplain feel disposed to hold service at all, there was shelter under the palms of the beach, or the poor foliage of the gum-tree. In such a climate, and on a sandy shore, the exposure to the heat was terrible.

Steadily did the worthy man occupy a post under a tree. He raised the banner each Sabbath-day, but few were they who came to hail it. Again and again did he in his meek and gentle way entreat some consideration of the effect of such neglect upon the men. There was no time to bother about raising a shed for such a purpose. He ventured to speak of his own suffering, and was told that he could save himself that by his absence from his post. The officials shared not in his misery, as their shadow never appeared in the church camp. Even when he himself had, at his own cost, erected a building, they seldom, if ever, frequented his meetings.

Thus it was that the attendance grew less and less. The convicts had no special leanings towards the house of prayer. They had no example to stimulate their attendance. Even when, at last, express orders were issued for their presence under penalty of losing part of their rations, the command was not enforced, and the kind-hearted minister could not become

informer and judge. He acknowledged his own want of success. "I used to get as many of them together as I could," said he afterwards, "and after reading part of the service, I gave them an exhortation." No wonder when, upon his return home, he presented himself before the statesman who had derided the scheme of the mission, and had to speak of his failure, he received this reply: "Did I not tell you how it would be?"

His health, never robust, yielded at last, and he left the colony in 1800. He was more of the Martyn than of the Luther stamp. But if his virtues were not of the active order, his faults were not conspicuous. He provoked no enemies, but was kind and courteous to all. His charities endeared him to the poor. His spirit was not fit to contend with the rough men of his age. At least, we may say with the excellent Judge Burton: "His labours during thirteen years were far from satisfactory in their results. He had indeed to struggle against difficulties of no ordinary character."

Ill-natured people did say, however, that the want of energy in his clerical ministrations was not so conspicuous in his secular pursuits. His grant of land was well cultivated, and his returns for his labour were satisfactory. He received but ten shillings a day from the Treasury; but the use of convicts, a privilege enjoyed by official men, aided his resources. The fees of the Church were by no means equal to those in the time of Mr. Marsden. General Holt,

of the Irish Rebellion, in his interesting Australian biography, has something to say of the chaplain's farming success. "By his prudence and economy," said he, "he made a large fortune, with which he is now about to return to England. He first raised and cultivated the orange-tree in the colony. He sowed those seeds which he had brought with him from Rio, and in a few years the trees produced very fine fruit, which he sold at from sixpence to ninepence each. Mr. Cox purchased from this gentleman his estate, which joined the British farm. It consisted of 600 acres of land, about 150 sheep," etc.

When roaming through the fine orange groves of Parramatta, I was struck with the results of Mr. Johnson's forethought and prudence. He alone preserved the seeds of oranges purchased at Rio, and thus laid the foundation for a most important export of New South Wales. The quiet energy of the man, his love of nature, and his thoughtful economy, were illustrated in this venture and pursuit. Unlike some other chaplains after him, he never meddled with trade, and he never trafficked in drink. His pecuniary success followed the exercise of ordinary care, and was effected by the rapid development of the colony. Who would envy such prosperity?

But though so quiet and undemonstrative, none who knew him doubted his piety, nor chided him for neglect of duty. He feared his God, he sought the good of man. This was certainly evidenced in that interesting pamphlet he wrote in 1792.

The first Australian author, Mr. Johnson chose for his subject the noblest of themes. He sought to bring back his erring fellow-creatures from the paths of sin, and lead them to the feet of our Father in Heaven. This little production was printed in London. It consisted of 74 pages. The agents to whom it was confided tried to sell a few copies in England, to lighten the burden for the rest, as they were to be distributed gratuitously among the convicts in New South Wales. If unable to gain their attendance at his services, and if unable himself to make that personal appeal which nervousness and self-distrust prevented, the chaplain would attract their eye to his discourse, and gain their hearts.

The *Evangelical Magazine* has a review of it in 1793. The critic says of the writer: "His language resembles that of the first century more than that of the eighteenth." He had urged prayer, the reading of the Scriptures, and the observance of the Sabbath. One extract will illustrate the fervid simplicity of the man. It is to be feared that the argument had little weight in such days. He would shame them before the savages.

"If these ignorant natives," he cried, "as they become more and more acquainted with our language and manners, hear you, many of you, curse, swear, lie, abound in every kind of obscene and profane conversation, and if they observe that it is common with you to steal, to break the Sabbath, to be guilty of uncleanliness, drunkenness, and other abominations,

how must their minds become prejudiced, and their hearts hardened against that pure and holy religion which we profess!"

There is a fine story told of the man, which happened, singularly enough, to be related, unconsciously of the fact, in the presence of a distinguished personage, who had procured the appointment of Mr. Johnson. This is the version given by the *Evangelical Magazine*:—

"A gentleman of literary eminence had the curiosity to converse with some convicts who had escaped from Port Jackson in an open boat across the ocean, and were afterwards brought in confinement to England. Among other subjects of inquiry, he asked what kind of a chaplain there was in the colony. The poor wretches, who had readily answered his former questions, hesitated at this, evidently impressed with awe. Their testimony, which in this instance will doubtless be deemed unexceptionable, was, *that they did not believe there was so good a man beside in the whole world.*"

THE FIRST RELIGIOUS SERVICE IN AUSTRALIA.

THE Maories of New Zealand, in their pagan state, never ventured to launch their fishing-boats in the morning, until they had knelt upon the sandy beach before their gods, and asked a blessing on their

labour. Heathen nations of antiquity and heathen people of modern times were never known to undertake anything of national importance without at least the semblance of religious service.

Let us see how the Christian emigrants from Britain acted in the foundation of their first southern colony.

It was in the first month of 1788 that Governor Phillip took formal possession of the new territory of New South Wales, without a thought of any claim to the land by the aborigines, or the expression of a wish to repay them for this invasion of their real or pretended rights by the bestowal of the advantages of civilization upon them.

A jubilee was proclaimed. It was not a heathen one, much less a Christian. It was a demonstration of strength and power, for the military took a leading part in it. The flag of England was displayed, and volleys of musketry were fired in honour of it. The principal feature of the opening day was, as might be supposed, the reading of the royal proclamation, by which the colony was established. The next and most conspicuous act of the celebration was the festival. The governor sat at a sumptuous board, and, surrounded by his officers, drank the king's health, and success to the settlement. We then find this formality followed by most immoral excesses.

No one thought it necessary to bring the chaplain forward to take any part in the proceedings. A God was not to be acknowledged then. We know not what efforts the clergyman made to declare their im-

piety, and to uphold the honour of his faith. We can believe his gentle nature was grieved at this denial of Providence, and would fain hope that he was no party at the godless banquet.

Judge Burton may well ask, "Was there then no act of contrition, no act of gratitude, which it had been becoming on such an occasion for Englishmen to offer to the God of their fathers, upon the erection of the national flag of England upon this distant land?" He furthermore says, "How different might have been the effect upon the minds of the poor convicts, if the day of their first landing in a new world had been solemnly marked as the beginning of a new life under God by an act of confession and prayer!"

We have seen how the officers inaugurated the new colony; let us now observe the way in which the convicts behaved on their landing. The governor, after an address to them, hoping they would behave themselves, gave them some grog to drink the health of George III., and their own destruction. More liquor was surreptitiously obtained from the sailors, and the grossest of intemperance reeled over the settlement. It was a drunken celebration throughout.

As to morals in general, a quotation from a work published in 1789, the year after the colonization, will speak intelligibly enough. Captain Tench is speaking of the prisoners when he writes, "While they were on board ship, the two sexes were kept most rigorously apart; but when landed, their separation became impracticable, and would have been,

perhaps, wrong. Licentiousness was the unavoidable consequence, and their old habits of depravity were beginning to recur. What was to be attempted? To prevent their intercourse was impossible; and to palliate its evils only remained. Marriage was recommended." This very wild state of the grossest debauchery may illustrate the opening service of the colony.

Before Sunday, however, the officials got a little more sober, and the entreaties of the chaplain were heard. It was resolved *then* to pay some outward respect to religion. All hands were summoned to attendance. We quote the account given by an eye-witness.

"On the Sunday after our landing," writes Captain Tench, "divine service was performed under a great tree, by the Rev. Mr. Johnson, chaplain of the settlement, in the presence of the troops and convicts, whose behaviour on the occasion was equally regular and attentive."

This was the first public prayer in Australia.

THE FIRST CHURCH IN AUSTRALIA.

Mr. Johnson's services continued to take place under the tree. The foliage of Australia, unlike that of Europe, affords generally but little shade or shelter. The heat of summer and the rains of winter seriously interfered with the comfort of worshippers at the little settlement. To all the appeals of the chaplain,

the officials turned a deaf ear. He sought no stone edifice, but a simple defence from the weather.

It was a bitter jest made by the captain of a Spanish vessel, calling in at Port Jackson about that time. The foreigner saw the neglect of the church while a spacious building was being reared for His Excellency. He told the authorities that it was the fashion of his country, and men of his faith, to erect the church first in a new settlement, and the governor's house afterwards.

Nearly seven years followed. The chaplain's easy nature, or timid disposition, was sorely tried, and his patience yielded at last. He was determined to have a church. As the government would not build it, he would try and do it himself.

He set to work. He hired some men, and paid them from his own scanty means. He accompanied them to the thicket, and cut down some of the wattle trees with his own hands. The cabbage palm made rafters for the roof and standards for the sides. The wattle boughs were twisted in and out to form a sort of lattice-work, and the interstices were filled up with mud thrown in or dabbed on. The roof was formed of slabs of rough bark; which, in its rent seams, or heat-curled edges, afforded plenty of ventilation, besides some scope to descending showers. The main building was 73 feet long by 15 feet broad. But at right-angles to this was another room 40 feet by 15 feet. The total cost to the clerical architect and builder of this large but primitive building was only £40.

This *wattle and dab* church and schoolroom was opened on August 25th, 1795. The first historian of New South Wales, afterwards the first Governor of Hobart Town, performed a simple act of justice when he wrote, "Much credit was due to the Rev. Mr. Johnson for his personal exertions on this occasion."

There was now no apology for non-attendance at church. The prisoners at Sydney, then called *The Tanks*, were directed to attend service. This irksome task was performed with indifferent ardour or positive grumbling. "Ah," said they, "if it wasn't for this place we shouldn't have the prayers." Others replied, "And if anything happened to the church, the prayers would die out again."

It was not long after, therefore, that a cry was raised "The church is on fire! The church is on fire!" Of course so fragile and inflammable a building would burn well. Thus fell the first church, after a brief existence only.

The *accident* was thoroughly appreciated. The governor's anger was excited. If not jealous for the honour of God, he was for his honour. If heedless to the interests of souls, he was alive to the interests of discipline. He stormed at the chuckling convicts, and assured them of his revenge. He would not starve, flog, or imprison them; no, he would do worse, that he would. He would build a church himself at once, and make them all attend service twice instead of once on the Sunday. The men almost shuddered at this cruel sentence.

A Government store was in process of construction. That was rapidly completed for the Sunday convict torture. It had no pretension to beauty, and none to suitability of purpose. "It will do for a store some day," said the practical governor, in resigning the room to the chaplain for a time.

Mr. Johnson laboured on. The stern regulation was soon forgotten. The officers were so opposed to church-going themselves, that they commiserated the fate of the convicts, and spared them the needed infliction. The stone store could not be burnt; but the pressure of authority being removed, the congregation got thinner than ever.

THE FIRST CHURCHES OF THE COLONY.

THE story of the first church, erected at the expense of the chaplain, Mr. Johnson, has already been told. Opened August 25th, 1795, seven years after the establishment of the colony, it was burnt October 1st, 1799, in consequence of an order compelling the Sunday attendance of the prisoners. It was consumed in one hour.

The store, which had been just built, was occupied by the congregation till a church could be raised. It was so damp and cold in winter that the patient minister was compelled to complain. Retiring, as he did, to Europe early in 1800, he did not witness the foundation of St. Phillip's Church laid by Governor

Hunter, towards the end of that year. This stone building progressed so slowly that the walls were not up in April, 1804. It took more than three years then to complete it. It was made 97 feet long, 32 broad, and 17 high. Eight small bells rang merrily from its round tower.

The Rev. S. Marsden had the same difficulties as his superior. He arrived in 1794, but had to wait till April 10th, 1803, before his stone church, St. John's, of Parramatta, was completed. It seated 400 persons, and was the first substantial church erected in Australia. Being at the seat of Government, the residence of the Governor, it had the start of Sydney. It afforded me much pleasure not long ago to worship within its walls. Its two towers in front, added subsequently to the opening of the church, made quite an architectural display. The chaplain opened it on Easter Sunday, and selected as his text, "Will God in very deed dwell with men on the earth?" The *Sydney Gazette* afterwards informed its readers that "many ladies of the first respectability were present." Mr. Johnson had commenced worship in Parramatta in 1791, and preached in a carpenter's shop.

The Rev. W. Cooper, and the Rev. Robert Cartwright, arrived in 1809. They sought to hasten the work of church erection in Sydney. But the historian confesses that in the whole colony but two churches existed in 1812. It should be mentioned that a Mr. Bains came out in 1792 as Chaplain to the New South Wales corps, but failed to leave a

record behind. In 1825 there were ten chaplains of the Church of England in the colonies. The year before, the archdeacon, Mr. T. H. Scott, arrived at Sydney. The Rev. Richard Hill came in 1818, and suddenly expired in church in 1836. Mr. Threlkeld became associated with the archdeacon in 1820, but connected with the mission to the Blacks. In 1830 there were twenty-three churches.

The cathedral church of St. James's was opened January 6th, 1822. Mr. Marsden preached a stirring discourse from Isaiah lx. 1. Dr. Ullathorne, a Roman Catholic priest in Sydney, and now the Roman Catholic Bishop of Birmingham, was pleased to say that the origin of the names of the two oldest churches, St. Phillip's, of Sydney, and St. John's, of Parramatta, was conveyed in an order of Governor King's, on July 23rd, 1802; that the saints after whom the churches were called were *Phillip*, the first Governor, and *John* Hunter, the second. St. Andrew's Cathedral, when completed, will be the finest religious edifice in Australia. Though commenced early, the foundations were taken up and relaid by Governor Sir Richard Bourke, May 16th, 1837. It has been, therefore, more than thirty years building. In 1828 the total sum raised by pew-rents in the colonial churches was £280. General Darling, 1825, was the first Governor regularly to attend church with his family.

THE CHURCH CHAMPION.

The second chaplain of New South Wales, the Rev. Samuel Marsden, may be truly styled the first champion of the Church of England in Australia.

His advocacy of the claims of his Church, and the steady enforcement of his own official position, may have been thought by some to have savoured of the Hildebrand stamp, and rather more becoming the Middle Ages and the Church of Rome, than the Church of England in Australia.

But as that pride of office, or clerical zeal, was exhibited in most instances in the denunciation of crime and the maintenance of moral purity, when much around him was pollution or tyranny, we should not be hard in censure if even disposed to blame. They who incurred his displeasure, and suffered in consequence, may be ready to attach ill odium to his name, and to attribute to his best of actions not the worthiest of motives. But, in an unimpassioned view of the state of society into which he was thrown, and with a knowledge of the natural bent of his character, we are able to pass by his weakness, and remember only the substantial benefits he conferred upon the colony.

The Tasmanian historian, the Rev. John West, has finely drawn the difficulties of judging the man. "Nothing," says that writer, "can be more opposite than the estimates of his character given by the partisans of the emancipists and those furnished by

his ecclesiastical associates. Soured by the vices rampant about him, and, perhaps, determined by the administration of justice, when it was hard to distinguish the magistrate from the executioner, he does not always appear to have merited the unmeasured eulogies of his friends."

Among his admirers may be mentioned the venerable Wilberforce, who says, "he deserves the title of a moral hero." Generous in his hospitality, for he gave no invitations, but opened his house to all comers, his courteous treatment of the early missionaries, who touched at Sydney on their way to the South Seas, filled Europe with his praises. His open-handed charity, and his liberality in lending money to the struggling, softened the rugged sternness of his external appearance. Slovenly in dress and indifferent to public opinion, he took no especial pains to draw any personal regard, and proudly disdained to soothe the rancour of his foes. His hostility was manly, if violent. If his prejudices were strong and enduring, his benevolence was prompt and unbounded. He possessed the virtues, if he had the faults, of an ardent, vigorous temperament. One thing may surely be said of him, that he was the first public man in Australia to vindicate the claims of religion, to uphold the dignity of virtue, and to lay deeply entrenched the foundations of the Church of England in the colonies. In the accomplishment of his purpose, he may not always have taken the most amiable course, and may have had too much of the fierceness

of a Bernard in his attempts at the reformation of manners; but no one can charge him with sycophancy to civil power, or a shirking of the responsibility of duty, when it placed him in active antagonism to the representative of royalty. If violent in condemnation of the vices of convicts, he was no gentle trimmer with the faults of the authorities. His lance was in rest for all comers, and he was ever ready for a conflict. It was no playful tournament with him for the smile of beauty, but an earnest battle for the honour of God.

Though governed by the sternest principles of justice, much of his peculiarity of action may be attributed to organization and education. His head was large and massive, prominent in the region of firmness, self-esteem, and combativeness, with an extraordinary preponderance of the practical perceptive faculties over those of the calmer, reflective ones. His temperament was ardent and vigorous. He was never disposed to bear a compeer, and was unfortunately placed in a position which gave him almost absolute authority. Born among the bleak hills of Yorkshire, he was hardy in frame, and inured to fatigue. Brought up at the anvil, the village blacksmith ever after appeared in the hard blows he dealt as the chaplain of the Church.

His early training may have had something to do with his uncompromising struggle with all he regarded as opposed to Christian rectitude or rigid orthodoxy. All his friends were Methodists. He had been indoctrinated with the tenets of the Church of Wesley

by those sledge-hammering men, whose thundering denunciations and pious zeal are still perpetuated in tradition among the Yorkshire wolds. The young blacksmith entered heart and soul into the enthusiasm of the Puritans of his day; and if he caught the fire of Elijah among them, he drew from them no little force of the love of John.

Soon after his supposed conversion, the ardour of his nature, and the ambition of his character, led him to study, and to the indulgence of dreams of greatness and usefulness. For want of better appliances, he converted the smithy into a study, and sketched out the Latin declensions with chalk upon the fireboard of the forge. He had not only mental vigour, but strong native talent. He attracted attention, he courted patrons. His self-education, his earnest piety, his preaching power, recommended him for the Church, and the Church of England. After a term at Cambridge, he was ordained a clergyman.

Such a man would naturally find no scope for his energy in the quiet circle of the Church at home. Surrounded by those of aristocratic birth, and more collegiate education; checked in his fiery zeal by the proprieties of the old establishment, and aspiring for a sphere in which he might develop his schemes of service, it is no wonder that he sought for a post abroad.

The opportunity came. A clergyman was required for the convicts of New South Wales. He would have few competitors for such an undesirable charge.

To him it was everything. He saw it the very answer to his prayers, the fulfilment of his most ardent wishes. He received the appointment in 1794, and was off by the first ship.

A very pleasing incident then occurred—a bright spot in his history. As may be supposed, he was waiting for the ship, and not the ship for him. The last Sunday he spent in the Isle of Wight, ready at a moment's warning to put off from the shore. The clergyman of the little village invited him to conduct the service. He did so. He preached with all the fervour of a new disciple, and as one who believed the truths he preached. He was eloquent. He was more than ardent and exciting; he was tender and affecting. He presented the love of a Saviour in such attractive terms, as to gain at least one heart to the Cross. A modest maiden heard and wept. Her tears were dried up by the Sun of righteousness, and the genial beams of His love came smiling into her bosom.

This was she, the sweet and humble Christian girl, known now by the pen of the vicar, in twenty languages, as "The Dairyman's Daughter." Such a hallowed blessing left behind him would atone for much subsequent indiscretion in the Australian chaplain. The gentle voice that rose from that charming vale of Old England would still the clamour of a hundred tongues of slander.

It is well, perhaps, that we cannot change the minds and characters of good men, even where it seems desirable. A little less fire in Knox might

have brought out more Christian virtues, but might have stayed the reformation in Scotland. We grieve at the violence of many partisans of truth, but see not always the apparent necessity for this strength of energy. Yet we would fain have known Mr. Marsden more often under the sway of these softening influences of Christianity; for it is in association with that benevolence, which springs from a love to his Master, that the real glories of his character appear, and that he is drawn tenderly toward the hearts of all Christians.

His championship of the Church was exhibited in the jealousy with which he resented any intrusion of the civil power upon his spiritual domain. In his day there was a miniature repetition of the St. Thomas à Becket story, and in both cases the personal was mixed with the principle.

Governor Macquarie was on the whole a very able administrator, and an upright ruler. His weakness lay in his leaning to the emancipist party,—those who had emerged from bondage, and who, in many cases, formed the wealthy aristocracy of Sydney. As in the elevation of their position, they carried up with them sometimes the vices of their former career, the chaplain was unsparing in his rebukes, and was in open hostility with the order. This put him in antagonism with the general, who had even raised some of that party to the magistracy, and thus seated them beside the magisterial clergyman. Mr. Marsden resented the insult, perhaps, in rather unbecoming language, and threw up his commission for a time.

There were other points of dispute which had to be settled at last by the Government at home. But that in which the chaplain felt most indignant was, the governor's interference with his clerical work and the legitimate statutes of the Church.

We give the statement of this in the terms of Mr. Commissioner Bigge, who is not suspected of being too friendly with Mr. Marsden. He says, in his official report to the House of Commons : " On certain occasions Governor Macquarie has deemed it expedient to regulate the clerical duties of the chaplains, either in restraining the use of prayers not authorized by the strict forms of the liturgy of the Church of England, or by enjoining the introduction and promulgation of certain orders of a secular nature, which he conceived might be usefully impressed upon the minds of the people by communication during the hours of Divine service."

Now it so happened that, severe a churchman as some regarded him, Mr. Marsden was reputed by others as no true follower of the rubric of the Church. His extempore prayers, his lax notions upon baptism, and his so-called Evangelical doctrines, savoured much more, it was considered, of Methodist training than of orthodoxy in Anglican theology. In this respect Bishop Broughton and he were to be reckoned exponents of two opposing principles in the same Church, though the bishop himself was not more earnest in upholding the dignity of the establishment.

His very defence of Church principles was made a

ground of complaint with persons of his own profession. We have Mr. Bigge, the Government Commissioner, writing, in his report to Parliament: "A society was attempted to be formed by certain individuals in Sydney and Paramatta in support of Sunday-schools, in which the principal chaplain did not concur; conceiving that it was not necessary, and that the attempt implied a reflection on the clergy of the Established Church. The opposition made by Mr. Marsden had its influence on the members who composed the society, and the Sunday-schools at Sydney have not since met with support."

This was written in 1822. Five years before that Sunday-schools existed in Sydney. Mr. Leigh, the Methodist, also established one in 1817. Mr. Marsden, from personal pique, or from some clerical suspicion of the parties, may have opposed such a movement once, but certainly not for long.

A more serious charge was preferred, when it was reported, "The Church in New South Wales is not sufficiently provided with Bibles and Prayer-Books." And yet elsewhere Mr. Bigge writes, "From want of sufficient deposit for their clothes or their property, the distribution of Bibles and Prayer-Books among these men (prisoners) would be unavailing." "Some," he says again, "got Bibles given them on board ship,—I have observed, however, that in the first march to the different stations up the country, they lose, and sometimes sell them for the purchase of bread and liquors."

Against this there is the set-off, that Mr. Marsden was the originator of the New South Wales Auxiliary of the Bible Society, in 1817, and the ablest and most constant friend of the Institution.

On the whole, and in spite of all charges and innuendoes, we dare assert that in Mr. Marsden Australia found its earliest and warmest friend, religion an uncompromising advocate, and the colonial Church of England a friend as well as champion.

THE MAGISTERIAL CLERGYMAN.

It was a great misfortune, but an act somewhat of necessity from the peculiar circumstances of the times, that the early clergymen of the colonies were the principal parties to deal judicially with the offences of their parishioners. The first chaplain was a magistrate, and so was the second. Even the Rev. W. Fulton, though so recently an ex-convict, was made a police magistrate.

This was by no means favourable to the exercise of ministerial functions. It presented no little antagonism to the character of gospel heralds and messengers of mercy. It put the clergyman himself in a false position.

As an illustration of this difficulty, we give a citation from Mr. West's colonial history: "A servant, charged with a misdemeanour, he (Mr. Marsden) flogged; who then took to the bush, and reappearing,

charged with a capital crime, was hanged; and the magisterial divine attended him on the scaffold." It was hardly likely that the man could receive much religious consolation from the person whose first infliction of the lash drove him to the desperate course that led to his execution.

On the other hand, it may be said that it gave the clergyman power and influence which he could employ for good. His very ability to discountenance vice and repel the advances of criminal disorder, seemed to depend, in that era of brute force, upon his recognised means to punish by the law. Inflexibly severe, he was indeed a terror to evil doers, if not always the praise of those who did well.

The discipline in that time was ferocious enough. Thus, in one of the magisterial records of the year 1800, we have this award from the bench :—"We do sentence Matthews, as principal, to receive one thousand lashes; Moore, Galvin, and Saunders, five hundred lashes; Francis Allen to hard labour, with an iron collar, at Newcastle; William Blake, free by servitude, two hundred lashes and three years' hard labour." All this was simply a case of absconding, and aiding in escape from Government work.

An intense hatred prevailed against the magisterial chaplain on the part of the prisoner and emancipist class. The wealthy among these found no cajolery could soften the rigour of his investigations, and no bribe influence the justice of his decisions. He was as incorruptible as Cato, and as inflexible as Brutus.

His prejudice against them, again, was neither slight nor passive. During the whole of his lengthened residence he was never known to yield a point in which principle seemed involved, or which was not agreeable to his own iron will.

A man so often reckless of his actions, through very independence of character, would give occasional openings for rebuke from his enemies. These, however, were not in the discharge of his clerical duties, or his acts as a private citizen, but his magisterial performances.

He was often accused of undue severity, especially in the infliction of the lash. He was taunted with inconsistency in punishing drunken servants with the cat, when he favoured the vice in accepting the appointment of distributor of rewards for the killing of wild dogs, in the gift of two gallons of rum to the destroyer.

The Rev. Dr. Lang says, "In other countries the clergy have often been accused of taking the *fleece;* but New South Wales is the only country I have ever heard of in which they are openly authorized, under a royal commission, to take the *hide* also, or to flay the flock alive." Mr. Commissioner Bigge reported to parliament concerning Mr. Marsden: "The general opinion of the colony is that his character, as displayed in the administration of the penal law in New South Wales, is stamped with severity."

A fierce quarrel, wholly of a magisterial character, arose between him and the governor. It was referred

to Lord Sidmouth. General Macquarie, in replying to Mr. Marsden's letter home, expressive of his concern at the depravity existing in the colony, and, therefore, the greater necessity of care in the appointment of magistrates, ridicules the sorrow of the chaplain as too great for discovery; for that he was noted for gaiety, and his movements were too rapid for grief; unkindly adding that his days were divided between the cares of farming, grazing, and trade. The dispute between them led to the appointment of Mr. Bigge to inquire into the state of the colony.

His very success in life embittered the animosity of his political foes. Even Mr. Wentworth must talk of the chaplain's mill at Parramatta, which kept no Sabbath. Mr. Commissioner Bigge must also allude to the construction and oversight of his mills, as the reason for his neglect of his magisterial duties. He chooses also elsewhere to assert that "Mr. Cartwright and Mr. Marsden have also been engaged in agricultural pursuits that had afforded more occupation to their time than augmentation to their fortunes." "Some of Mr. Marsden's arrangements," he says, "did not altogether consist with the dignity of the ecclesiastical character."

In justification of the chaplain, it may be urged that his restless activity of brain led him to embark in all sorts of enterprises, and that the opportunities thus presented of adding to his income were not likely to be passed by in one so endowed with worldly prudence.

The great official controversy, over fifty years ago, was on the disgusting and immoral state of the Parramatta factory, or depôt for convict females, which was constructed from Mr. Marsden's own plans, and which was placed under his immediate supervision as the magistrate, he being resident at Parramatta. But although he had complained of the place in 1815, he and his brother magistrates suffered this nuisance to remain for many years after.

There is a funny story told of the magisterial chaplain, which must be taken by the reader as a tale of the times, but which is strongly characteristic of the man as well as the times.

A poor fellow came to Mr. Marsden and asked him to speak to his wife, who would get drunk, neglect the family, and play him all sorts of tricks. The clergyman knew the lady and resolved to frighten her in real earnest. He came down, whip in hand, to the hut. "What!" cried he in a voice of thunder, "so you won't obey your husband? Well, if words make no impression, blows shall." Suiting action to word, the Rev. Richard Taylor says, "He then laid his horsewhip over her shoulders most lustily, while the worthless hussey went down on her knees and begged for pardon, promising to behave better for the future."

This Irish priest fashion of correction was most salutary. The husband came afterwards to thank his reverence for the flogging, which had quite reformed the termagant, though a lecture from the bench had failed before.

THE MISSIONARY CHAPLAIN.

WE cannot conclude the very interesting life of Mr. Marsden, without a reference to another phase of his character and public career, which shines, perhaps, the brightest of all, and in which he appears the intrepid evangelist, the far-sighted statesman, and the enthusiastic philanthropist.

This was the founding of the mission to the New Zealanders.

With strong Australian bias, the writer cannot but rejoice that the conversion of the intelligent and noble Maories was commenced from the shore of New Holland, and that by the minister of New South Wales.

The attention of this large-hearted man was no sooner directed to the spiritual necessities of the cannibals, than his practical genius suggested the mode of operation, and his own energy and liberality carried out the scheme.

Nearly seventy years ago, his voice was lifted up for the cause of the heathen. He heard tales of barbarity exercised toward the savages by his civilized countrymen, and his spirit was stirred to indignation. Private appeal and rebuke were followed by expressions in public. In an official letter to the governor, upon the cruelties committed by our seamen upon the New Zealanders, we have him declaring, "Europeans have no right to land on their island to destroy their plantations of potatoes and other vegetables, strip them

naked of their garments, and ill-treat and murder them if they dare to resist such lawless oppression."

In pursuit of this benevolent object, the Rev. Mr. Marsden organized an institution at Sydney, which was called, "The New South Wales Society for Affording Protection to the Natives of the South Sea Islands, and Promoting their Civilization." This was intended to make British law act upon the rascals who brought such dishonour to our country.

But his thoughts were higher. He sought the emancipation of the Maories from their slavery to idolatry. When, therefore, he visited England, in 1807, he brought the case before Christians there, and returned with two suitable agents, Messrs. Hall and King, in 1810.

But a fearful massacre in 1809 arrested the undertaking. The crew of a whole ship were killed and eaten by the savages. A little delay took place, as it was not prudent, in the excited state of the colony, to send the missionary families at once to slaughter, as it was then supposed would be the case. Watching the progress of events, he seized the right moment, purchased a vessel, and went over himself. He would be the first to meet the peril. The brave chaplain paid a visit to the blood-thirsty chief who had so brutally destroyed the British crew. He gave the utmost proof of his courage and confidence; for he became the guest of the murderer, and slept by his side.

This gained the good will of the savage, who con-

sented to receive the missionaries, and to provide for them. Messrs. King, Hall, and Kendall, landed with their wives and children. Two sawyers and a smith were with them. They prepared to sojourn with the cannibals.

Mr. Marsden preached the first sermon, with the aid of an interpreter, an old sailor of the coast. A broken canoe served for the pulpit. The audience was collected by rather a rude fashion. The chief had been presented with a suit of regimentals, and bore an English sword by his side. Thus adorned, through the munificence of the strangers, he acceded to their request for a meeting, and sent his chiefs to whip the people up with switches.

One of the missionaries, who came out in 1810 for the work, died in New Zealand so lately as in 1854. Mr. Marsden paid visits to his Maori friends in 1819, 1820, 1823, 1827, 1830, and 1837. He was honoured to see the conversion of many tribes of this interesting people. He was spared the pain of witnessing the rising of Heki in 1843.

His view of that mission is thus given in 1818:—"The British settlement in New Holland is a very wonderful circumstance in these eventful times. The island in the great Pacific Ocean could not have been settled unless there had been the settlement formed previously in this country. The missionaries could never have maintained their ground, had they not been encouraged and supported from Port Jackson. How mysterious and wonderful are the ways of God!

The exiles of the British nation are sent before to prepare the way of the Lord."

True to the last, this faithful chaplain passed through the various changes of the colony, and was permitted to witness the triumph of the principles he loved. Of later years, in consequence of the infirmities of age, and a little dissimilarity of view in his Church, he appeared less prominently in society. Times had greatly changed, and his particular character of service was less required.

This intrepid champion of the Church, this inflexible magisterial clergyman, this pious missionary chaplain, died on his estate at Windsor, in New South Wales, in 1839, at the age of seventy-three. He had but a few hours' illness, and his last words were in keeping with his life; for, with an inward prayer for the Maories, he whispered, "*New Zealand.*"

THE TWO FIRST ARCHDEACONS OF AUSTRALIA.

Among the many reforms suggested by Mr. Commissioner Bigge, on his return from his inspection of colonial affairs, was that of the appointment of some responsible head of the Church in Australia. He found clergymen in Sydney, Parramatta, Hobart Town, etc., acting without concert, subject to no ecclesiastical direction, and owning no spiritual head but the Bishop of Calcutta, in India, and his grace the Arch-

bishop of Canterbury, in England. He recommended the nomination of an archdeacon in New Holland.

The English Government approved of the plan, and made selection of the gentleman submitted to the notice of statesmen by the commissioner himself. This was the Rev. Augustus Hobbes Scott, who had acted as his private secretary on that important mission. Originally a wine merchant, subsequently secretary to Mr. Bigge, and then a clergyman, he was raised to the title of archdeacon of New South Wales, with a salary of £2000, and a seat in the Governor's Council, in 1824.

It was not natural that so old and experienced a minister as Mr. Marsden could feel comfortable at the slight he had personally received, or have much sympathy with a man whose views of religious truth and duty were so opposite to his own. A chaplain on the banks of the Derwent, the Rev. W. Bedford, was, like Mr. Marsden, placed under the clerical supervision of the archdeacon.

Although not wanting friends among the colonists, for Mr. Macarthur loudly espoused his interests and applauded his deeds, Mr. Scott could not but be sensible that his clergy were not hearty fellow-workers in his ecclesiastical suggestions. After wearing the robes of office for little more than four years, he abandoned the colonies, and sought more congenial society in England. A well-meaning man, his acts failed to conciliate his enemies, his want of tact provoked unnecessary opposition, and his party in the

Church was not then appreciated in New South Wales. The Rev. Dr. Lang, the Presbyterian, whose opinions upon faith were shared by the Rev. S. Marsden, left this judgment of the first archdeacon: "Of the devotion and practice which constitute what is styled by the Christian world, evangelical religion, Mr. Scott had evidently no idea."

The second archdeacon was a man of vigorous intellect, uncompromising views, unswerving integrity, and unrelaxing energy, who was neither to be intimidated by opposition, nor soothed by servility. This man, who was undoubtedly the real constructor of the Church of England in the Australian colonies, was William Grant Broughton. He was born at Winchester, in 1788, the year of the establishment of the penal settlement of New South Wales. In 1818 he gained his B.A., and became Master of Arts in 1823. It was not until his election to the episcopate that he was known as Doctor of Divinity. Brought under the notice of the duke of Wellington, he was made chaplain at the Tower of London. Afterwards he removed to the curacy of Farnham.

In the year 1829, when the government, under the "Iron Duke," were performing that great act of justice, the passing of the law of Catholic Emancipation, a message came to the country clergyman that he was wanted at Downing Street. There he learned, by a few words from the great duke, that Mr. Scott had resigned, and that he might have the archdeaconry if he liked.

The communication was sudden, the distance was great, the post was onerous. As he halted in his expression of thanks, and was doubtful of his power to undertake the responsibility, his friend, who knew the man, was pleased to urge high motives for the acceptance of his offer. He uttered these prophetic words:—"*There is no telling to what extent and importance these new colonies may grow.*" He closed by adding, in his usual forcible tones, "They must have a Church."

Still the good man hesitated. Botany Bay had a bad name. Botany Bay was far from the civilization and refinements of Europe. Botany Bay seemed no place for a scholar, no home for a gentleman. He knew something of colonial strife and horrors, from the published reports of Mr. Commissioner Bigge. He saw years of painful struggle, discomfort, self-denial, and contest before him. Though bold, he was prudent; though brave, he was gentle; though ambitious, he was Christian. If he feared not difficulties, he did not court them; if prepared to bear scorn, he sought no martyr's doom. Honours, with his talents and energy, might come to him at home, in ease: why go abroad for any?

The premier witnessed his unreadiness. A man of few scruples himself, when duty called, he impatiently bore with doubters. Not sensitive himself, he could not sympathise with the hesitancy of sensitive men. Turning sharply to the chaplain, he said, "I don't desire too speedy a determination. If in my profession,

indeed, a man is desired to go to-morrow morning to the other side of the world, it is better he should go to-morrow, or not at all." Mr. Broughton took the hint, and gave the duke an early reply. He decided to go.

Years after, the clergyman remembered his early patron, and applauded the public spirit, the sincere churchism, the Christian zeal of the man, more than he praised the kindness of the friend. His grace was the statesman, the diplomatist, and the warrior; he was, moreover, the propagandist of his faith. "After all that has been said and known of him," writes the first bishop of Australia, "there is one light in which he ought to be regarded, and in which he has never been placed,—that is, for the personal interest which he took in advancing the affairs of the colonial Church."

This Australian archdeaconry was a sort of bishopric over the settlements of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. Mr. Broughton thus described it to an English friend: "I cannot give you a better idea of the size of this archdeaconry than by asking you to imagine your own archdeacon having one church at St. Alban's, another in Denmark, another at Constantinople, while the bishop shall be at Calcutta." There were then but eight episcopal churches in New South Wales, and four in Van Diemen's Land.

As an archdeacon, he was a perfect model,—if the duty be one of organization of the body, systematic arrangement of labour, concentration of interests, accu-

mulation of means, administration of resources, defence of privileges, and aggression of effort. He was too gentlemanly to wound the feelings of clergymen with whose principles he was somewhat at variance, but whose co-operation it was necessary to secure. Some, who had found the first archdeacon a *Log*, discovered a *King Stork* in the second. However opposed in theological dogma, however contrary in Church politics, the veteran chaplains, the malcontent clergy, had to submit to a yoke which was felt with a consciousness of its imposition for the supposed good of their order.

For one deed alone is the archdeacon worthy of all honour in the eyes of the philanthropist. He was the first minister of the gospel in Australia who tried to serve the aborigines. He it was who established a mission. He it was who dared expose the injustice and cruelty of his countrymen toward the dark race. In his first public address as archdeacon, in Hobart Town, April 1830, he bemoaned the drunkenness of the Tasmanian natives, as that in which they were encouraged "by many whose superiority in knowledge ought to have been directed to some less unchristian work." He declared that "while, as the contagion of European intercourse has extended itself among them, they gradually lose the better properties of their own character, they appear in exchange to acquire none but the most objectionable and degrading of ours." He set about the preparation of a grammar of one of the languages, with an especial

view of translating the Scriptures in the tongue of the dark-minded savage.

THE FIRST BISHOP IN AUSTRALIA.

THE archdeacon was preparing for a bishopric; but, however fitted for the office, he might never have received the appointment had not circumstances recalled him to England. It is true that he was in constant correspondence with the two great Church Societies: the one for "The Promotion of Christian Knowledge," and that for "The Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts;" yet so few cared about "Botany Bay," so few knew anything of the religious wants and troubles of the old settlement, that nothing but the actual presence of his earnest face, the sound of his eloquent discourse, the force of his personal appeals, could break through English indifference, and even evoke Church fellow-feeling.

That which led to his visit to Europe may be explained, as that visit had such influence upon the future of Australian episcopacy, and upon the fortunes of the man.

In 1834, a great political change occurred in Australia. Before that period, although other religious bodies, as the Roman Catholics and Presbyterians, had received some monetary help from Government, for the erection of their churches and the maintenance of their ministers, yet it had been granted as a favour,

and, as it were, under protest. It had been given in the order of police regulations. The authorities supported constables in that convict colony; and convicts being kept in restraint by the clergy, it was thought prudent, and even economical, to subsidize *black-coatism*. But the chaplains were of the Church of England only, the establishments were of the orthodox Church, and the revenues, like the prestige, fell to the lot of the dominant party.

But 1834 was a year of jubilee. Liberty was proclaimed. The old shackles were removed. Favouritism was no more. Exclusiveness was abolished. Other Churches were not merely relieved from the domination of the Anglican power, but were placed on an equal footing with it. Nay, more,—they were permitted to make drafts upon the public treasury for sums proportionate to their numerical position in the State, while the English Church could do no more.

This was the position which excited the anxiety of the archdeacon. To lose his proud supremacy was hard to bear; but worse to see his beloved Church struggling with inadequate means, and ill-provided with moral agency to maintain a stand at all, when the surging billows of advancing sects threatened to engulf the land he once believed was all his own.

Why the English Government sanctioned this great extension of religious freedom in convict colonies, when not dreaming of its establishment at home, is a pretty question of discussion.

The Anglican Church occupied an anomalous position in the olden times of Australia. Its bishop lived in India, and never bothered himself in any way about this distant portion of his dominions. The chaplains were appointed by the Crown, and conducted service after the approved order. But the governor for the time considered himself as the head of the Church, and practically administered its affairs. The possession of the purse was the secret of power. The writer remembers two instances in his own colonial experience bearing upon this question. In the one, a bishop appointed a man to a charge against the will of the governor, and the salary was withheld. In the other, the bishop removed the licence from a clergyman who received the sympathy of Government House, and pay was given while no work was done.

The chaplain, when so resolute and self-willed an advocate of himself and his Church as Mr. Marsden, was brought into collision with the authorities upon questions of comparatively little moment. The officials, perhaps, were supposed to be High Church, while the first ministers were of the opposite school. Mr. Marsden's low estimate of the rubric, and continuing sympathy with the views received in his younger Methodist experience, exposed him to some rebuke, even in that age of great indifference. But when he and Mr. Cooper, the assistant chaplain, put forth, in 1814, Dr. Goode's version of the Psalms, the righteous anger of the head of the Church was raised against the impiety; and positive orders were

given that until instructions came from home the book was not to be used. It is amusing to find how sullenly the clerical gentlemen treated the missives of the governor, not even acknowledging the receipt of the mandates; and this in spite of the awful declaration of the colonial Defender of the Faith: "such innovations being neither justifiable by necessity, nor by that obedience to the religious establishment of this colony, which is alike his and your duty to uphold."

In truth, General Macquarie thought that as the State paid the Church after having made the Church, the Church was bound to receive its instructions as to creed and practice from the paymaster, State. It is quite possible that the difficulties experienced in managing the colonial Church, when the only recognised clerical authority in the land, may have led the magnates in utter disgust to throw open the treasury to Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, and others, and so destroyed at once the prestige of the Anglican Church, and elevated its rivals with means to compete with it in the field.

In 1834, after a famous struggle, in which the learned Archdeacon Broughton proved himself an able champion for his order, the controversy was ended by the establishment of perfect equality of all denominations of Christians in the eyes of the law, and their equal right to make claims upon the Treasury, proportioned to their efforts and their numerical strength in the colony.

The archdeacon accepted the position, as minority Englishmen are accustomed to do, but resolved to do his very best under his defeat. He was vanquished, but not driven from the field. His Church had lost its dignity, its wealth, its supremacy; but it had churches built, schools endowed, ground occupied. Yet he saw with his penetrating vision that, while the majority of the inhabitants were of his views of worship, his competitors in the pulpit had a more energetic party, because more compact, more earnest, and more alive to their newly purchased freedom. These had planted their foot upon the entrenchment, and were ready to do battle inch by inch with determined zeal for the defence of their privileges, for the promulgation of their faith. The Roman Catholics to the right, long trodden in the mire, had gained the front rank at last, and were not the men to lose the ground they gained. The Presbyterians had with characteristic ardour thrown down the gauntlet, and now challenged all comers. The quiet Wesleyan, meek enough in his youth, but not quite resigned to his post behind the chariot wheels of Episcopacy, no sooner saw the emancipation of these two Dissenting bodies, than he thought of his own burdens, his own isolation in the cold outside, and, to the horror of the rest, gently knocked at the door which had admitted the others to the Treasury feast. And, though at first a little chided for his presumption, he continued knocking until a special Act acknowledged him, and he took his seat on the bench with the rest, planting

the standard of his Church on the platform with theirs.

In the midst of this revolutionary fury of events, and filled with anxiety for the fate of his beloved charge, Mr. Broughton resolved to go to England, and make an earnest appeal for that help of men and money, without which he felt he could not retain his footing against the advancing progress of the other denominations, nor make the aggressive policy he desired.

Before he sailed, he addressed his clergy in a way similar to that in which he spoke of colonial affairs at home, and not different from that in which his Episcopal brethren are still accustomed to treat the subject: "I cannot look on with tranquillity," said he, "while I see such extended and populous districts devoid of churches, devoid of clergymen, devoid of schools."

This was slightly "a figure of speech." Such abject destitution did not exist. In 1834, even among Protestants, religious agency had abundantly extended. In spite of the supposed limitation of means from dependence so much upon the voluntary system, the Dissenters,—especially the Wesleyans, had greatly occupied the land. They had already half as many chapels as the Establishment had churches, and were then raising, from pew rents alone, a much larger sum than the others could obtain from that source. But such persons were quite ignored in the estimate of religious light-bearing. In the colonies, the Church

of England has lost much prestige, and excited no little anger and strife, by the quiet assumption that where she is not present there is utter spiritual destitution. This is especially impolitic where, as in South Australia and Victoria, the Wesleyans alone number more Sunday worshippers than the Episcopal Protestant Church. No congregation of the latter can now equal the assemblage at one of the Independent, or one of the Baptist, chapels in Melbourne. It would be as absurd to ignore the other Protestants in Australia, as for the American Episcopal Church to assume such a position in the United States, where Methodists and Baptists are its superiors in numbers and influence.

The archdeacon went to Europe. He wrote, he spoke, he preached, he begged. He found willing hearers, and hearty friends. He collected £13,000 in subscriptions, procured the promise of large annual contributions beside, and doubled his number of clergy. He might go on his way rejoicing.

But something was in store for himself. He had, in his zeal for his Church, very properly exposed the error of supposing it could be governed by a diocesan in Calcutta. With foes without, and weakness within,—with demands for greater effort, and the inability to raise men for the work on the spot,—how could the Church go on without a true Episcopal head? It was old enough to manage its own affairs, and it was time enough it consolidated its power, and pressed on with serried ranks beneath the banner of such a chief.

The argument was acknowledged. A bishop was to be sent. And who could be found so suitable as Mr. Broughton himself? The appointment was as honourable to him as it was useful to the Church of England. He was duly consecrated by Archbishop Howley, on February 14th, 1836. He succeeded, moreover, in gaining the authorization of the Crown that he should occupy, as Bishop, a seat in the Sydney Council. This he held till the new constitution was granted to the colonies in 1850, when bishops became simply the recognised heads of their own particular denomination, and were deprived of any voice in the administration of public affairs.

THE BATTLE OF THE BISHOPS.

One consequence of the extension of religious liberty was hardly foreseen by some. The Rev. Dr. Polding, a gentleman and a scholar, who had been a Roman Catholic ecclesiastic in the colony of New South Wales since 1835, received an elevation from Rome in 1843, and appeared as "John Bede, by the grace of God, and of the Holy Apostolic See, Archbishop of Sydney and Vicar Apostolic of New Holland."

It is not easy to describe the consternation and excitement which this produced in certain circles. Dr. Broughton had been for seven years sole bishop in the Australian colonies, when a rival presented himself in episcopal honours, and actually assumed a

higher title than his own! Such poaching upon his own preserve was not to be thought of. It produced a disturbance in the colony like that in England when the Pope nominated bishops to Birmingham and Westminster. There was this difference, however, between the two cases. England had an established Church, and Australia had not.

Dr. Broughton, however, had this argument to present, that he was the true bishop according to a Crown appointment. He could, therefore, with the greater plausibility complain of another taking a title derived from the territories of Her Majesty, "without any reference whatever to Her Majesty's sanction or approval." He protested against the legality of the Pope's proceeding, even on his own ecclesiastical principles. The Anglican Bishop allowed the apostolic right of the Bishop of Rome to appoint bishops to administer the grace of ordination to priests; but, presuming his own position to be equally apostolical, he could not admit the legality or common honesty of another apostolical ordainer coming into his diocese. He solemnly declared that the ordination of such an intruding party would be invalid, and that any coming to him from that Church would have thus to be re-ordained. "I foresee," said he, "that ordination will now be granted and solemnized in this country by hands which are incompetent to convey the ministerial character."

Such a way of looking at the question startled some, and amused others. The Rev. Dr. Lang called

l contest between the Rev. Dr. Broughton, s Bishop, and the Rev. Dr. Polding, the hop, as to which of them, forsooth, is the ted in direct lineal descent to the Saints Paul." Others wanted to know why a bishop at Gibraltar intruded upon the a bishop appointed from Rome before, if ntments, that by Pope and Queen, be stolic and valid. Some, again, doubted ther of the gentlemen had the right to h territorial rank in a colony where all stinctions had been abrogated, and the d from the dominancy of both Churches ented. Bishops of their own respective s they might be, it was said, but not places; as in them other denominations rivileges with themselves.

sight of the Roman Catholic assumption ed in the *Australian Chronicle*, in which 's pastoral letter was published in March, Broughton made his public protest against St. James's church, Sydney, on March g the festival of the Annunciation of the gin Mary." Then and there, standing on de of the altar, surrounded by several of he bishop read this spiritual protest :—

ame of God: Amen. We, William Grant, ermission, Bishop and Ordinary Pastor of o protest publicly and explicitly, on behalf and successors of the same Church and

diocese, and also on behalf of William, providence Lord Archbishop of Canterbur of all England and metropolitan, and his that the Bishop of Rome has not any righ rity, according to the laws of God and th order of the Church, to institute any ep archiepiscopal see or sees within the dioc tralia and the province of Canterbury afor we do hereby publicly, explicitly, and d protest against, dissent from, and contradi every act of episcopal or metropolitan auth or to be done, at any time, or by any perso by virtue of any right or title derived fr sumed jurisdiction, power, superiority, pr or authority of the said Bishop of Rome, en to institute any episcopal see or sees wit cese and province hereinbefore named."

The protest was made. The Protestan Australia has ever since confined himself t in the Protestant Episcopal Church, and Catholic Archbishop of Sydney to his du Roman Catholic Church. They do not in each other, and cannot interfere with the any other communion than those with whi respectively connected.

THE FIRST BISHOP IN THE FIRST GOLD FIELD.

ALTHOUGH the present work avowedly relates to "old colonial days," yet the reader will pardon a chapter in the history of the first colonial bishop, Dr. Broughton.

The first Australian gold field was opened near Bathurst, to the south-west of Sydney, in the early part of 1851. A mass of persons hastily collected at the spot, and, in the excitement, the removal from restraints, and the very novelty of the circumstances, social disorder and laxity of morals prevailed. Without a church for themselves, without a school for their children, their condition excited the sympathy of Christians in towns. The worthy bishop was one of the first to feel an interest, and one of the foremost to afford relief.

He hastened down to the golden ground. He held a public meeting of diggers at six o'clock in the morning. He urged them to help him build a church. Then, seizing a pickaxe, the old man dug a hole in the place where the north-east corner should be. Lots of picks were lowered from the shoulders of intending pit diggers, and before breakfast-time the holes for the posts of the edifice were ready. Others had attacked the forest, felled the trees, trimmed the poles, and brought them to the spot required. After breakfast, the bishop and his men fixed poles in the ground, laid others for plates and joists, and the timber skeleton was reared.

By arrangement, wagons came in the afternoon from Bathurst, laden with canvas for the covering of the framework, besides doors, a desk, and a communion table. A fair white structure soon shone in the autumn sunlight. It was sixty-six feet long by twenty-one broad. Although it took four days to complete, the bishop never ceased to exhort to labour, nor stayed his arm from help.

Early on Sunday morning, his lordship appeared before a multitude of his fellow-workmen and friends. Assuming his episcopal robes, he mounted a ladder, gained a ridge of the building on the eastern end, and hammered a little wooden cross to the end of the ridge. He then solemnly and loudly proclaimed the finishing stroke in these words:—"I set apart this building to the worship of God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, by the name of Christ Church, and humbly implore Almighty God to accept this act of duty and service, for the sake of Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. Amen."

He then descended. The bell rang. The people rejoiced. Entering the church, through whose canvas walls his accents were plainly distinguished by the throng unable to get within, he preached from the text, "And it was the third hour; and they crucified Him." As it was then nine o'clock, the third hour of the Jews, the coincidence was striking to the worshippers. The Sacrament closed the interesting service.

As the first clergyman in Australia laboured with

his hands to rear the first church in a settlement, so did the first bishop take a personal part in the constructive work of the first Diggings church.

WORK OF BISHOP BROUGHTON IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

Dr. Broughton had no sooner landed in Port Jackson, than he had to buckle on his armour and hasten to the fight. There was a project to bring in a bill to establish the so-called Irish system of education; which would un-denominationalize the schools, and place all children on one common form for their instruction. The Roman Catholic clergy had already contended fiercely against the scheme, and the Anglican ministers were most anxiously looking out for their new episcopal chief. As soon therefore as the arrival of the ship in the bay was notified, the Rev. W. Marsden proceeded on board and told the dreaded news.

The very day of his landing, the bishop went to the Council. He confronted the Governor and his liberal policy. He declared himself in favour of the Bible in the schools, but not the Bible without note or comment. The bill was passed, but never came into operation because of the opposition of the clergy of the two Churches.

Another struggle came on in 1838. Governor Gipps proposed that £3000 be granted for all Protest-

ant schools, and £1000 for Roman Catholic. The former were to lay aside distinctiveness, "removing all church formularies, and forbidding the inculcation of any particular creed." This was granting to the Roman Catholics a freedom not to be given to any Protestant Church, and was very properly opposed. In fact, it was too preposterous to be seriously entertained, though ardently desired by the Roman Catholic clergy, and the bill was withdrawn without a division. But the contest gave occasion for one of Bishop Broughton's eloquent speeches.

"I appeal to your Excellency," said he, "for that protection which you alone, perhaps, of all men, have power to afford us against the calamity which threatens us. It is the Church of England, rather, which in her extremity appeals to you as a mother to her offspring, beseeching you that no supposed political necessity, no yielding or concession to those who seek her hurt, should cause your Excellency to withhold from her the support of your powerful arm at the very moment when she most requires that it should be raised in her defence." His devotion to denominationalism in education is finely expressed in these glowing words:—"The schools which, if your Excellency's plans be carried, must be abolished, are to her as her right hand, by which she is to execute the work which is given her to do; or rather, they are the artery through which the life-blood is conveyed from the heart to the extremities of the body. Sever this, and she dies."

In this and other ways did he do gallant battle for his Church. For a time he stayed the progress of events; but, eventually, even his intellectual vigour, his dauntless front, his magnificent appeals, availed nothing. He was swept from the council of government, and his Church was degraded to be one of the various denominations or sects of the colony.

There was, however, a nobility in his bearing, a conscientious belief in his cause, and a courageous advocacy in his opinions, that gained the respect of his opponents and strengthened the attachment of his friends. Once, when taunted with the sectarian prejudices he entertained, which made him the mere partisan of a creed, he proudly replied, "I will venture my own soul upon the assertion that these are not prejudices, but truths, as divine and eternal as God, who is the Father of them, and who has set up the Church of England, I confidently believe, to be a faithful witness to them throughout the world." He lived not long enough to witness the great struggle between the three great parties in that Church, as to the nature of those truths to which it was a witness. The good man was spared that sorrow which now consumes the heart of many of its admirers. He sank to rest, away from colonial strife, and in the bosom of the Church so dear to him, before its greater troubles came.

In 1843, he was engaged in the controversy of Roman Catholic bishop intrusion. As the Church supremacy, the education difficulty, and the episcopal

advance of Rome were all discussed in the colonies before their advent amidst the politics of England, Dr. Broughton, in his old age, was led to remark, with his usual philanthropical wisdom, "It is a circumstance somewhat remarkable, that almost every great question which has agitated the mind of the Church in this country (England), has had, as it were, its previous rehearsal upon the narrow stage of the colonies."

His great work, demanding all his power, was the government of his episcopal domain. And right well did he do his work. One cannot help, however, regretting that Mr. Marsden, who once hoped for the archdeaconry, and who had so long borne the burden of his Church, was reduced to comparative silence and obscurity by the elevation of Dr. Broughton, and the adoption of views so opposed to his own sympathies. But the times had changed. He was the exponent of a state of society which had passed away for ever. A more fervid spirit was demanded, a higher intellectual standard was raised, and a better organization was required. A Marsden did what the more gentlemanly and scholarly instincts of a Broughton could never have achieved. Both must be judged by their talents and their work; and both are honoured by the followers of their Church.

The bishop's selection and appointments of clergymen was his happiest employment. All Australian settlers, of whatever religious profession they be, will indorse the sentiments contained in his noble words:

"We must," said he, "have men, earnest, zealous, able to make an impression upon the minds of others, not only well-intentioned and of pure lives, but, in the extraordinary state of society with which they have to contend, we must endeavour to draw out the talents of the Church and transplant them thither." Whatever objection may be raised by the so-called evangelical party as to the neglect of ministers of their views in his patronage, they fully believe that none were admitted into his confidence who were not educationally fitted for their appointments.

Almost the last important duty in which he was engaged was at the Synod of Colonial Bishops at Sydney in 1850. There he found himself supported by the Bishops of Tasmania and Adelaide; but a spirited protest against his doctrines, especially in relation to baptismal regeneration, was entered by the Bishop of Melbourne. Dr. Broughton was severe on "the zealots of a wild excess of private judgment, and the advocates of a contumacious self-will." He spoke of these joining the Church of Rome "in pointing the dagger to the throat of the Church of England," which, said he, "declines from all excesses and extremes, and observes the middle way of truth."

His disinterestedness and generosity were parts of his grand character. Desiring, for Church extension, the appointment of more bishops in the subdivision of his own diocese, he offered, in 1847, to yield the half of his income to supplement the funds. One-fourth only was accepted. Again, when the want of

clergy was felt in 1850, he tendered the half of his diminished means as his contribution to the effort.

He lost a true wife on September 16th, 1849. Making a selection from her books of prayers and devotions, he printed the book for private circulation, and dedicated it "To the memory and virtues of a true Church of England woman."

Anxious for counsel from the Episcopal Bench of England in the troubled, unsettled, and divided state of the colonial branches of his Church, he went home in 1852. As he sailed up the Thames, he heard the knell toll for his early friend, the Duke of Wellington. He was honoured in re-opening Temple Church, January 30th, 1853, when he preached his last sermon. Seized with bronchitis, in a climate so different from his own Australian skies, he died at the house of Lady Gipps, on February 19th, 1853.

During his illness, he was constant at his devotions. His last words were, "The earth shall be full of the glory—full of the glory—of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea." Then, expressing his regret he could labour no more for that glory, he said, "The waters of death have come over me."

He was buried in Canterbury cathedral; a fitting place for, in some sense, the Thomas à Becket of the Australian Episcopal Church. Honest, brave, and good, he must be honoured, he will be honoured, in the religious annals of the Australian colonies.

THE REBEL CLERGYMEN.

AMONG the transports to the Botany Bay of Britain were both Protestant and Roman Catholic clergymen. After the rebellion of 1798, a considerable influx of prisoners came from the Island of Saints. Among these were ministers charged with the crime of disloyalty. Political prisoners were then numerous in New South Wales.

The Rev. W. Fulton was a clergyman of the Protestant Church in Ireland, who, taking an active part in the attempt to procure the independence of his country, was convicted of sedition, at Waterford, and transported with the rest of the captured. After suffering for some years, he was permitted to leave Norfolk Island, and return to Sydney, in 1806. A conditional pardon was given him, and he re-commenced his clerical duties. So prudently did he conduct himself, that the year after, upon Mr. Marsden's visit to Europe for more help, he was promoted to be acting chaplain of the colony. He was strongly attached to the person and policy of Governor Bligh, and evidenced his re-born loyalty by the steadfastness of his adhesion to his Excellency during the period of the rebellion against him. He then returned to Europe.

When Holt was a prisoner, unjustly detained on Norfolk Island, he had an opportunity of observing the moral government of the officials there, and the great respect paid to religion in the person of the officiating Mr. Fulton.

"I remember," said he, "one day when the Rev. Henry Fulton was reading the fourth commandment, to keep holy the Sabbath day, Tony Chandler sang out, 'Turn out you d——d villains, and launch the boat;' and his voice was more omnipotent than the parson's, who in a minute was left with a few women for his congregation, to hear the rest of the commandments. As I was going out, I said to Mr. Fulton, 'I perceive Tony Chandler's word has more power here than the word of God.' Fulton smiled and shook his head."

A Roman Catholic priest, the Rev. W. Harold, was implicated in the Irish insurrection, and suffered the same bondage as his Protestant countryman. Unlike him, he did not become cured of his treason; possibly it might be that he met not with the kindness and encouragement which Mr. Fulton more fortunately received. Several efforts were made by the Irish prisoners to escape from their exile, even contemplating the employment of force soon after their arrival in New South Wales. Mr. Harold got mixed up with this disloyal proceeding.

A committee of officers being appointed to investigate the conduct of implicated parties, the *Sydney Gazette* of 1800 has this notice: "In the course of their enquiries, they found occasion to imprison Harold, the Celtic priest, who, both for his language and behaviour, was suspected of being concerned in the intended attack on the Government. He confessed the report was founded in truth, and undertook to

discover the weapons concealed." It is added, "He had some time since applied to the Government for liberty to act as their priest." Mr. Harold thus escaped the trouble that fell upon others. He was subsequently allowed to return home.

In the so-called "Barrington's New South Wales," the following account is derived from one acquainted with Mr. Harold. "He implicated several of his countrymen, and they, on being questioned, accused others. Harold, however, was unable to fulfil his promise of producing the pikes. He first said they were buried in the ground of a settler; but, upon searching every part of it, no pikes could be found. He then said they were sunk in the harbour, but here neither could they be discovered. He had some time since applied to the Governor to act as their priest, and most undoubtedly he might have been of use to the colony in that office."

One Father O'Neil was a transported rebel; but as in the case of others, got his early pardon, and was recalled in 1802.

The Rev. W. Dixon was another clergyman who for some years paid the penalty of his indiscretion, but worthily redeemed his social position, attached himself to the side of constituted authority, and became the first acting priest of the Australian Roman Catholic community.

When he departed, as the Rev. W. Marsden had previously gone to England, the colony had no representative of any Christian Church. In the language

of the Irish rebel chief, Colonel Holt, they were left "without minister or priest of any kind, or preacher, except a barn ranter, that neither Roman Catholics nor Protestants would go to listen to. There was no clergyman to visit the sick, baptize the infants, or church the women; so we were reduced to the same state as the heathen natives."

THE GODLESS NORFOLK ISLAND.

THIS most charming garden of the ocean rises in the Pacific, about a thousand miles from the coast of New South Wales.

As early as 1790 it was settled from Port Jackson. For some time its inhabitants, free and bond, struggled against the want of supplies; but soon they enjoyed all the comforts of such a healthy and fruitful retreat. Its balmy air, its fertile soil, its luxuriant vegetation, its very isolation of beauty, made it a home of pleasure. But, from some imperial caprice, orders came in 1807, from England, for the removal of the inhabitants to Van Diemen's Land, and fourfold the amount of their land was granted to each. It was with tearful regret that they left so fair a home.

A change of government policy decided upon the re-establishment of this island colony. It was to be no home for settlers, but a gaol for the worst of convicts,—the re-transported of the colonies. In this terrible state it continued, with all its accumulated

horrors, until a few years ago, when it was decreed that the association with the island of beauty should be wholly changed. The most abandoned of men were to give place to the most gentle and virtuous. The forest which had resounded with oaths was to be charmed with the voice of prayer, the song of praise. The convicts of Britain were to retire, and the Christian Pitcairn islanders were to come.

The moral change of the island is, perhaps, as striking as any the world has ever known. It is a sudden regeneration of this floating hell. The great vice of civilization, the source of most of our crimes, was to have no entrance here; for the coloured men of the South Seas stipulating before their removal that no intoxicating liquor must come to their homes. The governor of New South Wales then promised them the total prohibition of that article.

So much for the present. But the past of this island was something terribly wrong.

Until the year 1834 it never knew the voice of a minister of religion. In 1821 we have the mournful testimony of Archdeacon Broughton, afterwards the first bishop of Australia, in these solemn words: "It is a most awful reflection that a population so numerous, and generally so depraved, should have been left at Norfolk Island entirely destitute of religious instruction from the very foundation of the settlement."

Nominally prayers were read once a Sunday at the chief prison. The convicts were drawn up, and one of the officers brought out a Prayer-Book and ran over

a piece in a way not likely to increase a reverential feeling. The known character of the reader could not tend to hallow the scene. I have been told by one who had writhed beneath the lash there many years ago, that oaths and curses not unfrequently fell from the lips of him who had just before played the priest, and that the responses of the congregation thus forcibly assembled were conveyed in smothered blasphemies.

Very few women resided in that island hill. Crimes of fearful magnitude and atrocity were developed in a soil so favourable to demoniacal agencies. Deeds which sunk the cities of the plain were of common occurrence, with most brutalizing accompaniments. Violence reigned. Those groves of gigantic pines, so serene and dignified in aspect, resounded with shrieks of bleeding victims, and the loud coarse laugh of the exulting murderer. No greater contrast could be seen than the awful wickedness of man in a region where nature had spread abroad her gentlest, sweetest charms. When Judge Burton went thither in 1834, to attend to no less than one hundred and thirty cases of capital charges, he was confounded at the exhibition at the trial, that, as he said, "revealed to the court a feature of depravity which, it may be asserted, no human judge ever had revealed to him before." He calls the place "a cage full of unclean birds, full of crimes against God and man, murders and blasphemies, and all uncleanness."

This was the locality to be left *wholly* without the

soothing voice of the messengers of mercy, the warning cry of the servant of God, the wooing language of the gospel herald! Shame upon the British Government, priding itself upon its Christian principles, that could thus cruelly neglect this outcast Sodom of the empire! When appeals were made on behalf of ignorant pagans, our own countrymen there, who were far more degraded and bestial than the lowest idolaters of Africa or the isles, were unheeded or despised.

The pious judge of New South Wales had the Christian fortitude to hold up this dreadful phase of crime to the world, and to demand attention to its moral claims.

After that celebrated trial, when numbers were sentenced to execution, some shocking scenes of remorse were witnessed by that gentleman. Not a few declared their joy to be rid of that hell, though through the hands of the hangman. Some were in agony at the recollection of the black past and the thought of the eternal future.

One poor creature, a Roman Catholic, got a fellow-prisoner to make a rude wooden cross for him, as his only consolation. Before this symbol of his faith he would throw himself in his distress; embracing it at one time tenderly, in some softening sentiment of devotion, and then beating his head against it in his fit of despair. Now he would sob and cry over this memorial of the Passion, and then incoherently and frantically scream at it for mercy.

The weeping judge beheld this and similar symptoms of excited horror of remorse, and suspended the executions until he sent over from Sydney ministers of Protestant and Roman Catholic communions to afford religious relief.

The year after, in 1835, the two Quaker missionaries, Messrs. Backhouse and Walker, had official permission to visit the island, and to report upon its state.

They expressed themselves "forcibly impressed with the conviction of the extremely depraved condition of this portion of our race, which is strikingly evidenced by the dreadfully profane language with which the ear is assailed."

They found no minister of religion on the island. The commandant for the time being was a man of moral character, and adopted the best means he had for the religious training of his charge. As he had no free person to do the work, he selected two of the convicts themselves to do it.

"He has selected," says the report, "from among the prisoners, a man originally educated for the ministry of the Episcopal Church, who reads its service and delivers an address, generally of his own composing, to the Protestant prisoners, twice every Sabbath; the superintendent of the convicts being present on these occasions, and frequently some of the other officers. A similar selection has also been made from among the Roman Catholic prisoners, of a person who reads the service of his Church and an address.

Both of these men appear to be well acquainted with the principles of religion, at least theoretically, and the addresses which we heard were calculated to encourage religion and morality. The Protestant teacher also reads the Episcopal Church prayers in the jail and hospital once every Sabbath; and attends to the opening of the school of the Protestant prisoners on the same day."

This decidedly improved state of things did not continue long. A far more dreadful condition followed, which resulted in an attempted revolt, followed by terrific punishments. The moral sense of the world was outraged, and the penal Norfolk Island was abandoned.

RISE OF ROMAN CATHOLIC WORSHIP IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

In the "good old times" the governmental religion only was tolerated. It was the Greek Church in Russia, the Roman Catholic in Rome, Calvinism in Geneva, Lutheranism in Sweden, Presbyterianism in Scotland, Anglican Episcopacy in England. Gradually the Roman Catholic humbly craved protection in Russia, and stole into Geneva; the Lutheran acknowledged the existence of other Protestant bodies, and was himself admitted into the outer court of Roman Catholic realms; while the Scotch faith was allowed an unobtrusive sojourn under the shadow of

English cathedrals, and the system of the Church of England crept northward to the Scottish moors, and camped among other mongrel Dissenting sects there.

Whatever might be said of the exclusiveness of the Church of England, history must admit that it has been less harsh than most State Churches. At any rate, these religious denominations opposed to its ritual were, by the spirit of the age, more quickly emancipated from serfdom than similar unorthodox communities were in other places. At the present time no subject of the Queen is hindered in the performance of his worship in any city of her dominions. It is to be regretted that this liberty is not reciprocated in some parts of Europe. The disabilities under which Roman Catholics groaned once in England are still the burden of Protestants in Rome.

On the shores of Port Jackson, at the formation of the penal colony no thought of such freedom was entertained. The State Church of England naturally got transferred to the kangaroo land, which was regarded as England over the way. Although the government thus favoured two Establishments—Episcopacy in the South, and its opposite in North Britain—yet New South Wales was absolutely attached to the former. The Presbyterian was unrecognised any more than the Wesleyan. Under such circumstances the Roman Catholics could expect no favour.

All had to go to church: they were driven as sheep to the fold. Whatever their scruples, they

had to go. Fallen as many were, they were not to be supposed aliens altogether in principle, and indifferent to faith. In some, the very consciousness of crime had developed an eagerness after faith, and that the faith they had known, the faith of a mother. But expostulations were unheeded. If a man humbly entreated to stay behind because he was a Presbyterian, he incurred the danger of a flogging. It is said that upon a similar appeal from another, who exclaimed, "I'm a Catholic!" he was silenced by the cry of a clerical magistrate, "Go to church, or be flogged!"

Such, however, was the oppression or the indifference, that we meet with few remonstrances from dissentients in very early times.

A Government order, however, appeared on April 12th, 1803, calling for all professing the Roman Catholic religion, throughout the colony, to attend at Government House, Parramatta, on Wednesday, April 20th, at ten o'clock in the morning." The day before the meeting another official proclamation was issued, which explained the purpose for which the assembly was called. An intimation was given that public worship was to be established for the Roman Catholics of the colony; that a clergyman, the Rev. W. Dixon, had taken the oaths of allegiance to His Majesty, and that the Governor had granted to that priest the indulgence of conditional pardon, to enable him more freely and fully to fulfil the duties of his calling among the people.

But, on the other hand, there was to be exacted from the Roman Catholics of the settlement obedience to the following conditions :—

"1st. That they observe with becoming gratitude that this extension of liberal toleration proceeds from the piety and benevolence of our most gracious Sovereign, to whom, as well as our parent country at large, we are, under Providence, indebted for the blessings we enjoy.

"2nd. That the religious exercises of this worship may suffer no hindrance, it is expected that no seditious conversations that can in anywise injure His Majesty's Government, or affect the tranquillity of this colony, will ever happen," etc.

3rd. Commands settlers not to go from their own places, when service is not held there, to others where it may be performing. They were to wait the coming of the priest to their own quarters. Service was to take place in weekly rotation at Sydney, Parramatta, and the Hawkesbury.

4th. That the service commence at nine in the morning.

5th. No improper behaviour to be permitted during the time of worship—the priest being held responsible not only for the good conduct of his people at mass, but on their way to and from service, until they arrive at their respective homes.

6th. Police to be stationed at and about the places of worship.

7th. Regulation to punish the disturbers of any

meeting, or for abusing the priest or teacher "of any tolerated sect."

Signed by the Governor, PHILIP GIDLEY KING.

The first actual meeting for Roman Catholic worship was held on May 15th, 1803, by the Rev. W. Dixon. This gentleman was subsequently interrupted in his duties by the report that meetings for worship were gatherings of traitors, and the medium of communication for another attempted rebellion. An order closed the services. And yet, when the insurrection did burst forth, and a second Vinegar Hill battle took place on the other side of the world, Mr. Dixon accompanied the commanding officer, and exerted himself nobly on the side of order and humanity.

About the year 1808, he retired from the scene of his own conflicts and miseries, and spent the rest of his days in peace among his countrymen in the Isle of Beauty.

Meetings for religious worship were afterwards maintained by the laity themselves, in the court house of Sydney and in private houses in Parramatta, Liverpool, and the Hawkesbury. As no proper order was kept, and no division made between the free and the bond, the commanding officers refused to let the Roman Catholic soldiers attend these services.

THE PERSECUTED PRIEST.

As has been stated, the Rev. Mr. Dixon, a pardoned convict, was permitted to hold occasional service for his countrymen and co-religionists. Upon his departure in 1808, the rites of the Church were no longer performed.

In 1818, a clerical visitor arrived. He was a free man, a gentleman of education, and was directly appointed from Rome itself. This was the Rev. Jeremiah O'Flinn.

Informed of the necessity of a Government sanction for going to the penal settlement, he sent in his application; but, as a vessel was just on the eve of sailing, and as no other was expected to go for several months, he directed a friend to forward the permit (which he viewed as a mere formality), and took his passage at once.

Upon his arrival at Sydney, he was warned by some of the Roman Catholics of the bondage in which they were placed, of the prejudices which would be excited against him as a priest, and of the certainty of his punishment if discovered without the Government sanction to land on those shores. He therefore very prudently concealed himself. In the meanwhile, as several months must intervene before the next mail would arrive, the leading members of that communion got up a memorial to the Governor, representing the case, and requesting his recognition of the priest's arrival. The presentees of the petition

were coolly told that they were guilty of a piece of presumption.

Unfortunately, Father O'Flinn made too sure of the success of the application, and incautiously presented himself out of his retreat. Certain parties were on the look-out, and caught him. He was immediately led, as a common felon, to gaol. As even then there was no law to punish him, for he was a British subject, it was resolved to get rid of him. A vessel was just then on the point of sailing. When the sails were spread, the prisoner was carried on board and shipped back again to England.

The indignity and cruelty toward one of their own nation, and to a priest of their own faith, were enough to set the Irish Roman Catholics in rebellion against the colonial Government. They were however used to subjection, and yielded with ill-suppressed execrations against the authorities. Some over-zealous Protestant officials were accused of influencing the Governor to this despotic act.

The Rev. Dr. Ullathorne, afterwards nominated Roman Catholic Bishop of Birmingham, makes an interesting allusion to the visits paid by the colonial Catholics to the consecrated wafer, left by Mr. O'Flinn at the house of a settler. Before this memorial they were accustomed to come for years, as the only symbol of their faith. "It was remarkably beautiful," said the priest, "to contemplate these men of sorrow round the Bread of Life, bowed down before the Crucified; no voice but the silent one of faith; not a priest with-

in ten thousand miles to offer them that pledge of pardon to repentance, whose near presence they see and feel."

As Protestants we may not comprehend all this; but charity and justice oblige us to acknowledge that at least three hundred millions of professing Christians in the world would view the condition of the Australian settlers with the deepest sympathy, and heartily condemn the cruelty of the British Government which denied to its own subjects, and many of those its very criminals, the consolations of religion and the instructions of a clergyman.

From the very foundation of the colony, the oppressive enactment for the forced attendance at Protestant worship weighed heavily upon conscientious Dissenters. It would hardly be credited that the colonial law was twenty-five lashes for the first offence of non-attendance, fifty for the second, and the cruel endurance of the chains of renewed transportation for the third.

True it was that society was so degraded, and religion of any kind was so disregarded, that there was not sufficient conscientiousness or manly dignity to raise up martyrs for any faith. But this is rather a matter of regret to the Christian mind. The age of martyrs is the time of principle. Certainly the colonial Government took the best means to avoid the occasion of administering their law, by discouraging the presence of heretical teachers.

But, even under the old Tory regime, such a summary

eviction of a recognised clergyman could not be thought proper. The case was brought before the House of Commons, and warmly commented upon by the English press.

The moral and spiritual condition of the convicts at Port Jackson was rather severely dwelt on; and the cruelty of leaving English, Irish, and Scotch Catholics without the means of religious instruction and control, was obvious to most people. Earl Bathurst yielded to the pressure, and not only sanctioned the appointment of two priests for the colonies, in 1819, but consented to allow them a salary of £100 a year.

The Rev. John Joseph Thierry and the Rev. Philip Conolly arrived in 1820. The first was stationed in New South Wales, and the other was appointed to Van Diemen's Land. Their first public act was to complain of the concubinage, sanctioned by the officers in charge of the convict ship in which they came. The grossest and most shameless vice was permitted. The official exposure of such doings made enemies for the priests.

They received their instructions from Governor Macquarie. One ran thus: "Not to endeavour to make converts from the Established Church, and generally from the Protestant Church, but to confine their spiritual ministry exclusively to those who are of the Romish Church." They were never to hold a religious meeting of any kind, without having first given notice to the Government three days before,

specifying the time and place. They were never to hold mass except on Sundays, and upon the holidays according to the ritual of the *Church of England*, and then only at the same hours in which the Protestant chaplains held their service. They were on no account to interfere in the instruction of orphans and others in the Government schools; for that these children, whatever their parentage, were "to be instructed in the faith and doctrines of the Church of England."

These were the harsh instructions enforced upon the observance of the first authorized clergymen of the Church of Rome.

The priest soon got into trouble. With all his submissiveness, and all his respect for the terrors of the law, he could not but express a little dissatisfaction at the educational question. He felt naturally sore to see the orphan children of his own flock carried off from his spiritual charge, when removed to the orphan school, and there brought up in what he regarded as heretical views. He got up a "Catholic Education Society," so as to establish an orphanage, that should be under his teaching.

In some letter to the newspaper about this undertaking, he was supposed to reflect upon the liberal character of the chaplain, the Rev. S. Marsden. For this he was reprimanded. He made an apology in the *Sydney Gazette*, and expressed his concern for the misunderstanding.

It was of no avail. He was suspended by the

Governor. All public sanction of his clerical status was withdrawn, and his salary stopped. Again and again did he plead. Petition after petition was presented by his people; all was in vain. The Government was unmoved. Mr. Thierry remained from 1825 to 1837 before justice was done him, or, rather, before the ban was removed.

Hospitals and gaols were closed against him. Even criminals sentenced to execution could only obtain his services by a special memorial. He had to go about by stealth to his ministrations. As with all our Protestant prejudices, we have a personal respect for the good old priest, we cannot but regret that twelve years' atonement was judged necessary for the utterance of a hasty word under some provocation.

This was a dark time for the colonial Roman Catholics. Archbishop Polding, in referring to the feeble clerical power, said: "Little could be done, except to keep from entire decay so much of the form and spirit of religion as had been preserved by the zealous labours of their predecessors; to run hastily from place to place, perhaps at great distances, to supply the most pressing wants of their flock; to administer the rights of religion to the child or to those in danger of death.

Father Power landed in 1826, but soon departed. Mr. Dowling came in 1829, and Messrs. McEncroe and Ullathorne in 1830. The Rev. Mr. McEncroe was a man of considerable learning and energy.

Vicar Polding, of noble birth and a scholar, brought out three priests with him in 1835. Eight followed, including Father Geoghegan, in 1838, after the celebrated Church Act of Freedom. The vicar revisited Rome, and returned in 1843 as "John Bede, by the grace of God and the Holy Apostolic See, Archbishop of Sydney, Vicar Apostolic of New Holland." A great change this from the times of the humble convict priest.

THE FIRST ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

THE poverty of the early disciples of this faith, who were almost all of the prisoner class, prevented the erection of a suitable place of worship. But by the indefatigable exertions of Father Thierry, a sufficient sum was raised to authorize the commencement of a chapel.

The press notice of this work is thus given, Nov. 3rd, 1821: "On Monday last the first stone of the first Roman Catholic chapel in this part of the world was laid, in the presence of a vast assemblage of respectable persons who were anxious to witness so important and interesting a ceremony." The situation was in the east of Hyde Park, Sydney. It was called St. Mary's chapel. The Governor, provided with a silver trowel, laid the foundation-stone. After this, the Rev. Joseph Thierry delivered an eloquent address.

Turning to the Governor, he said, "You will have

the merit of laying the firm foundation of a moral edifice of unanimity, natural confidence, and fraternal love, and of more strongly cementing the respect and affection of all persuasions and parties in this country to our sovereign, to yourself, and to each other." So handsome a speech deserved a courteous return. Governor Macquarie, therefore, made this acknowledgment:—"I have every hope that the consideration of the British Government, in supplying the Roman Catholics of this colony with established clergymen, will be the means of strengthening and augmenting (if that be possible) the attachment of the Catholics of New South Wales to the British Government, and will prove an inducement to them to continue, as I have ever found them to be, loyal and faithful subjects to the Crown."

A promise was given of Government aid toward this building; but, under various pretexts, the cash was withheld, and the chapel, perhaps too ambitiously conceived as to scale, was long in a partly finished state. In 1829, eight years after the commencement, a petition was presented, humbly requesting the fulfilment of the official engagement, especially as, through the poverty of the communion, no roof was yet placed upon the walls. No respect was paid to the appeal. Even in 1833, when about one-third of the population was Roman Catholic, the chapel was not completed. Money came at last. The next year saw the building opened. Altogether, by 1836, the Church got £1200 from the treasury toward the

handsomest house of prayer then in the colonies. The writer subsequently saw this interesting structure destroyed by fire.

Before leaving the builder of this Lady Chapel, a little story may be told in illustration of the times and of the man.

Word was brought to Mr. Thierry that a convict, sentenced to execution, desired to see him for confession. Many miles had to be traversed in haste, for the time was short. The season was late, the roads were unformed, the floods had come down, and bridgeless rivers had to be crossed. Coming, toward the close of the day, to the side of a great raging torrent, which his horse was unable to enter, and on which no boat could live, the distressed priest shouted to a man on the other side for help, in the name of God and of a dying soul. Getting a cord thrown over by means of a stone, he drew up a rope, tied it round his body, leaped into the stream, and was dragged through the dangerous passage by men on the shore. Without stopping for rest or change of clothing, the brave man mounted another horse, and arrived in time to whisper words of peace and hope in the ear of the convict on the scaffold.

THE FIRST AUSTRALIAN WESLEYAN METHODISTS.

If the historian takes pleasure in tracing the origin

of the empire of the Cæsars to a few rude huts on the banks of the Tiber, the Christian indulges in retrospect also, as he dwells upon the feeble shoot that grew into the stalwart tree. He loves to look back upon the struggles of his faith, and rejoices in the extended light which blesses his race. It is but natural, too, that those of particular communions should take a lively interest in the small things of their Church in a new country. To British Wesleyans the story of the rise of Methodism in Australia cannot fail to be peculiarly attractive.

The southern colonies of Britain sprang, like Rome, from no honest origin. The early exponents, therefore, of particular sections of Christianity there had doubtless some association with convictism. It may be that fallen members of the Wesleyan body, led into crime, had repented in the new land, and had in feeble bands attempted to support each other in the narrow road. A few free men among the very few permitted to land in the penal colony, may have encouraged this movement from old association with Methodism.

Be this as it may, the first authentic record of the existence of any of this people in New South Wales, we find in a letter written from Sydney to the *Methodist Magazine* of London. It is dated July 20, 1812. It is a letter of information and of appeal. It tells a sad story of colonial depravity; it reveals the existence of a Christian band; it demands ministerial aid.

We learn therein that Mr. Bowden had a class in his own house, of six persons, and Mr. Hosking, of

seven;—that at Windsor, six others met under a man converted while under sentence of death; and that a lawyer conducted a service there: that a lovefeast was held at Sydney on April 3rd, 1812, when "God was eminently present;" and that "thousands of souls are perishing for lack of knowledge, both in high and low life."

A terrible picture is drawn by the writer of the state of colonial society. "Many, says he, "in respectable situations, riot in all the crimes of which their depraved natures are capable. Several live in adultery with other men's wives, or with women to whom they were never married; and this example is practised by persons in various ranks in society, and I suppose one-half, at least, of the colony is thus circumstanced. I was the other day taking a list of the children of a public school, and inquiring about their parents. I learned from the mouths of the children that full one-half of the parents cohabit in this way. The children are brought acquainted with it while young, and grow up in it."

The correspondent showed a good reason why, while missionaries were being sent to the heathen, some should be forwarded at once to their own countrymen, who were there more brutal and degraded than the pagans themselves.

But a delicate ground is touched upon. There is a minister in Sydney already—a good man, Mr. Marsden. It is true he cannot individually compass the work. But then he is the only authorized religious

teacher in the place. He is the colonial chaplain. No clergyman of any other Church than that of the Protestant Episcopal is there, or would be until he sanctioned him. Every vice reigns there; but the Government cannot pay but one chaplain, and he of the one Church. It was so at Geneva. It is so at Rome.

Our letter writer, therefore, is on his prudent good behaviour. He wants a Methodist preacher, but cannot help saying to himself, "What will Mr. Marsden think?" He knows that gentleman's power in the State, and that one word of his could silence the preacher, if he came. We hear him, then, tenderly saying, "I am sure Mr. Marsden will be glad to see the different settlements provided, and especially if we proceed in the *primitive way* of Methodism, not in hostility against the Church, but rather in unison with it." It is almost amazing to observe his fears and caution,—so great are his terrors of the law, as he thus proceeds: "Of course, the *preacher should* not be *radically a dissenter; if possible, one attached to the Establishment.*"

In the colonies the Wesleyans cannot now be charged with either subserviency to, or much communion with, the Church of England; although in remoter times they went to the Episcopal church in the morning, and to their more humble sanctuary in the evening, when the church was closed.

As no result came from this letter, another was written, and was addressed to the Wesleyan Missionary

Society, at the close of the following year, 1813. It is no longer a private individual who writes, but a Methodist Society. A letter is signed by Messrs. Bowden and Hosking, the leaders of the Sydney classes.

A progress is reported. The first class-meeting was held in Sydney, March 6th, 1812, and the six at Windsor even here become nineteen. "Send us aid," cry the impatient colonists. But the old fright of the stern, but really kind-hearted chaplain, again peeps forth. The English folk must have thought him a sort of ogre; or, at least, a very stiff Churchman. Yet they, as a humble set of people in Sydney, might combine quietly for prayer, but it might not,—it would not—be wise to erect a Methodist church, or Methodist organization, right under the very eye of Mr. Marsden. He might not object to their subjective alliance in putting down some of the shameless sin of the town.

For thus runs the letter:—"If we were not to form a separate independent Church, we have reason to believe he would afford us *as much countenance as could be reasonably expected*, in any attempt to improve the morals of the people." How very timid and humble were the first Methodists of Australia! Now that their successors can boast of a church costing £20,000, the timidity and obsequiousness have disappeared.

There is a repetition of the story of depravity. "All those ties," says the letter, "of moral order and

feelings of decency which bind society together, are not only relaxed, but almost extinct." This is made the plea for help. A minister is wanted less for the Church than for the world. But one cannot but smile at the prudent foresight of the Sydney Wesleyans. They are poor and careful. They therefore judiciously promise but little, but will do what they can. "Send us a preacher," write the good men, "tolerably supplied with wearing apparel and books, and, by the blessing of God, he shall be no further expense to you." No—they would keep the young man—for he must not be starved—by giving him food at their houses in turn; and they, doubtless, hoped that in a short time he might make such collections as to get himself a horse for country work, and have cash for a new coat when the English stock of clothes had become shabby.

Such were the moderate views of the first Methodists of New South Wales. All honour to the men who would undertake the risk of supporting a brother sent them from home!

This appeal proved a failure like the first. The indifference of the British public to the religious welfare of the poor creatures they had thrown as filth and refuse from their doors, appears most revolting to us now. The Government, the Church of England, the Wesleyans, the Presbyterians, were alike heedless of the cries from Botany Bay. They were so glad to get rid of the criminals, that they seemed to have effectually forgotten their existence with their absence.

A last appeal must be made. It shall be to the Conference itself. But another year has passed. It is now 1814. We could not read without emotion this despairing cry from the shores of Port Jackson. Their call is to their brethren in the faith; "Leave us not forsaken in this benighted land." The wretched state of the society in which their families are to live is thus forcibly described by our old friends, Bowden and Hoskings: "Long accustomed to idleness, and iniquity of every kind, here they indulge their vicious inclinations without a blush. Drunkenness, adultery, Sabbath-breaking, and blasphemy, are no longer considered even indecencies."

Then comes the last and most pathetic appeal to paternal hearts: "We call upon you," say they, "on behalf of our children." The demand is urgent. The very fears of the chaplain are forgotten. They had prayed and wept and waited for years. They were desperate now.

The Fathers of the Wesleyan Church were moved. They voted a missionary, but who was not to be "a hired agent of the colonists." Samuel Leigh was selected.

Then came on a bit of diplomatic correspondence of an interesting kind. The Conference knew the difficulty that lay in their way, but left the celebrated Dr. Adam Clarke to fight it out with Downing Street. The Government were respectfully memorialized to permit the said Samuel Leigh to proceed to Port Jackson, and a hope was expressed that he might

receive the sanction of the authorities as a schoolmaster there. But the movement had been watched by another party, and a suspicion arose that Samuel Leigh, as a full and accredited Methodist preacher, might be disposed to exercise his ministry on the *tabooed* ground of exclusive ecclesiastical possession.

Before granting permission, therefore, Lord Sidmouth asked in which capacity, preacher or teacher, the gentleman professed to go. Dr. Clarke boldly and honestly replied, "In the double capacity." On November 14th, 1814, his lordship sent the *permit* for Samuel Leigh, "schoolmaster," at a salary of £50, to proceed to New South Wales. It was useless to contend with the Sidmouth ministry.

THE WESLEYAN PIONEER OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

SAMUEL LEIGH had the honour of being the first Methodist minister of Australia. He had been previously educated in the Independent connection.

The good man arrived on August 15th, 1815. Although the English Government would not allow him to go out as a preacher, he resolved to act as one, and regularly conducted service on the passage out in the *Hebe*. He read the Church prayers, and then exhorted. After landing, he had to appear before the Governor, who had received some instructions con-

cerning this Methodist intruder. "I regret," said his Excellency, "you have come here as a missionary, and feel sorry that I cannot give you any encouragement in that capacity." This was a polite intimation that he must keep his lips closed in public. "But," added General Macquarie, a kind-hearted ruler, "if you will take office under Government, I will find you a situation in which you may become rich, and one in which you will be more comfortable than in going about preaching in such a colony as this."

It was a tempting offer to a needy man. He might have quieted his conscience with the hopelessness of his attempting to preach against the will of the authorities, and the expectancy of being useful in an official situation, where he might make plenty of money to do good with hereafter. But no such reasoning came to this simple-minded man. He retired from the Governor's presence with a sigh of disappointment, but with a determination to carry out his mission.

He proceeded, however, with great discretion. He paid court to the worthy chaplain, who, with all his good qualities, had a weakness in his love of patronizing others, or being unpleasantly obstructive to those who crossed his will.

Mr. Leigh professed his anxiety to act in obedience to his suggestions, and on no account to show the least symptoms of antagonism to the Church of England. On this understanding, Mr. Marsden undertook to be friendly; and, certainly, in many

ways, showed no little kindness and active assistance to the early Methodists. Under his protection, Mr. Leigh ventured to break faith with the Government, and commence preaching.

His next object was to hunt up the Members of Society. He found that if he had delayed his coming much longer, he could have had none of his communion left. As it was, he could but muster a class of six persons. He might well write home—"I found that Satan had entered in among them, and had scattered the feeble few." By the 16th of March, 1816, however, he had collected forty-four members in six classes, and had held service at fifteen different places. Mr. Leigh soon added to their number. In all his operations he had an able helper in that early Methodist and sincere Christian, Serjeant Scott.

His first sermon was preached in a private house in Sydney. He then got permission to speak in a schoolroom. His first convert was a convict, who afterwards rose to a respectable position, and was the first man in Australia to start a stage coach. In Windsor, a thriving settlement on the Hawksbury, Mr. Leigh preached in a skillion. He undertook to visit every house in Sydney, to find what state of religion existed, and discovered an average of one copy of the Scriptures to every ten families. A few Scotch farmers had raised the first voluntary church in Australia, with the hope of getting a Presbyterian minister, but who never came. In that little wooden church Mr. Leigh preached in 1815. Some of his audience came

a distance of thirty miles. A magistrate of the city, annoyed, like many more, at the zeal of this Methodist evangelist, suggested the propriety of putting him, as a meddlesome fellow, into a chain gang, and sending him to the extra penal station of Newcastle, to work in the coal mines there.

The Sydney Society wrote home, in 1816, for a little help. "Our temporal circumstances," said they, "are not opulent, and our expenses at the present fall upon a few individuals." They represented their position, straitened for room. A rented house for worship cost them £15 a year. They wished to build two small chapels. "The expense," urged the friends, "exclusive of subscriptions, will be about £200. And what adds to our difficulties, and which, we trust, will recommend us to your notice, is the total impossibility of borrowing money in this colony on any interest or security whatever." This desperate state of things in the trying day of the settlement pressed hard upon the faith of the few.

"Help us," was the cry from Port Jackson: "help us—help the outcasts of New South Wales. We have claims on your notice by the ties of consanguinity. We are bone of your bone, and flesh of your flesh." Help was given, and another missionary promised.

Help came from other quarters. The Governor approved of Mr. Leigh's labours, and offered him a grant of land. Mr. Leigh in his simplicity declined the offer, as he was only a missionary. The Governor

stared, and said, "Why, you will be always poor at this rate." A site was needed for a chapel at Windsor. The chaplain had considerable property in that quarter, and generously gave the Methodists an allotment in the township. In acknowledgment of their letter of thanks, Mr. Marsden uses the following generous language; "To give you the right hand of fellowship is no more than my indispensable duty; and were I to throw the smallest difficulty in your way, I shall be highly criminal and unworthy the Christian name."

As the colony progressed, so rose the Wesleyan interest. The six of 1815, extended to forty-four, grew to fifty-eight in May 1816, and eighty-three in June, 1820. In 1817, Mr. Leigh had a part in the formation of the Bible Society, got up through the zeal of the Rev. S. Marsden, and receiving the active support of the Governor. Of the meeting held on March 7th, it was written, "Never was there so numerous and respectable a public meeting in New South Wales."

One of the chaplains explained to Mr. Marsden that Mr. Leigh in one place had had the bell rung for his service. Mr. Leigh proved that the magistrate had ordered the bell to be rung. He felt hurt that the chaplain sought to injure one who had been the means of converting his wife, and who had otherwise helped his district. The other presented the simple apology that the Bishop in England, when ordaining him, had directed him to "have nothing to do with Dissenters." And yet, strange to say, he had been an Independent minister previously. Mr. Marsden rebuked him for his want of Christian kindness.

To a friend in London, who had urged his return, Mr. Leigh wrote in this strain:—"Return to England, do you say? You tell me I should have thousands to preach to; but I should not have my twelves and twenties all in tears, waiting to receive the word. Yes, I have witnessed the tears of many; and after I have travelled twenty miles and preached to twenty persons, I have returned to rest with twenty thousand blessings." He was a true bush missionary.

His health failing, Mr. Marsden kindly offered him a trip to New Zealand, to look after the Church agents who had recently been established there. But he rallied once more for his work. Others came to his help. Mr. Lawry arrived in 1818, but left four years after for the mission to Tongataboo. Before he left the colony, he was two years in charge, as continued illness obliged the pioneer to retire from the work and take a voyage to England.

After a while, Mr. Leigh returned to the southern hemisphere, and took up his residence at the Wesleyan mission in New Zealand. Here he was the fellow-labourer of the Rev. Nathaniel Turner, one of the most beloved ministers in Australia, and the father of a most interesting family. His son George is a popular minister in the colonial world. Messrs. Turner and Hobbs arrived in Sydney on their way to New Zealand, about the year 1823.

Mr. Leigh returned to New South Wales, and again fell a victim to the heat of the climate, and the extent of his labour. He retired, in 1831, on the London

Supernumerary list. Two years after, he was sufficiently recovered to resume full circuit employment. He died in England in 1851, at the age of 66.

Although a man, perhaps, not much endowed with intellectual vigour and literary ability, he faithfully did his duty to the utmost of his power. He may have lacked independence of will, but was never rebuked for negligence. He was warmly attached to his Australian mission, and he cannot fail to be affectionately remembered by Methodists as a pioneer of their cause in New South Wales.

The Methodist interest rapidly advanced. In 1822 there were four Sunday-schools in the Sydney circuit. One at old Botany Bay had twenty children. The quarterly collection of that early date for the mission was but £32. The anniversary sermon of that year was preached by the Rev. John Williams, of South Sea enterprise. Mr. Carvosso came to Sydney in 1820, bringing with him much simplicity and earnestness. Mr. Scott erected a chapel in his garden at his own expense of £500, in 1819. The Governor the same year gave land in Macquarie Street, Sydney, for a site, on which a stone building arose fifty feet by thirty. York Street chapel subsequently was erected at a cost of £6000.

The Rev. Mr. Horton arrived in 1832, Mr. Orton in 1834, Mr. Schofield in 1835, and Messrs. McKenny, Draper, and Lewis in April, 1836. Mr. Turner returned in 1839. The Rev. Joseph Waterhouse came out as general Superintendent of the Wesleyan

missions in the South Seas in 1838. He died in Hobart Town in 1842. Two of his sons were successful missionaries in Fiji, and two are now engaged in the colonial ministry. Mr. Lawry succeeded Mr. Waterhouse as Superintendent.

Perhaps to no one man does the Australian Wesleyan Connexion owe more than to the Rev. Daniel Draper. From the date of his arrival in 1836, up to the day of his heroic death in the *London*, he was indefatigable in attention to the interests of humanity. When opening the Parramatta chapel, in 1839, he quoted what Dr. Bunting had said to him when leaving :—"You will have to engage in much preparatory work before you witness an extensive spread of religion in New South Wales." It was in this preparatory and consolidating work that Mr. Draper has been so useful in that colony, as well as in South Australia and Victoria. He has endeavoured to carry out his own sentiment of 1839, "Methodism is Christianity in earnest."

RISE OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

ALTHOUGH some convicts were of the Presbyterian denomination, yet most of them were from the North of Ireland, and not from Scotland. But when free settlers were permitted to land at Port Jackson, the enterprising Scot was discovered among the first to

camp under the cabbage palm tree. Governor Hunter recommended free settlements as early as 1790, and another voice for them was raised in 1809; but it was not till 1821 that any real movement took place, although a few families had appeared before.

It was a small party of the first emigrants that commenced in Australia the voluntary system of worship. These Scotch settlers on the banks of the romantic Hawkesbury, not thirty miles from Sydney, had imported from beyond the Tweed a rugged sense of independence and self-reliance, together with an interest in the education of their children, and their love to their country's faith.

Perfectly aware of the supremacy of the Church of England, and unwilling to be guided by her ritual, they resolved to prepare a school-house and church, and grope onward as well as they could among themselves in lay agency, until a pastor could be procured from Scotland. Accordingly, these Hawkesbury farmers met together in 1809, made their subscriptions, and at a cost of £400, put up a very comfortable room. They then wrote home an account of their struggles and their hopes. But no minister arrived. A chance call, however, from the Rev. John McGarvie was the means of getting the services of Mr. James Mein as catechist.

But to the Rev. John Dunmore Lang belongs the real honour of introducing and establishing the Presbyterian system of Church and schools in Australia.

His arrival took place in 1823. The court-house

was lent for the occasion of his ministrations. Scotchmen gathered round the new comer. They would retain his services, they would have a church in Sydney. Subscriptions were liberally promised. The Governor, Sir Thomas Brisbane, himself a Scotchman, headed the list of contributors. Some friends of the cause, accustomed to State endowments at home, saw no reason why the treasury should not assist the Presbyterians of the colony. A memorial was sent, requesting support of their Church, especially on the ground that aid had been previously granted, or *promised*, to the Roman Catholics.

The Governor, who declared, "Of the Church of England, one of the glories is her toleration," was piqued at the reference to his supposed support of popery, and thus curtly treated the demand of the applicants:—

"When, therefore, the Presbyterians of the colony shall have advanced, by the means of private donations, in the erection of a temple worthy of religion;—when, in the choice of their teachers, they shall have discovered a judgment equal to that which has presided at the selection of the Roman Catholic clergymen; when they shall have practised what they propose, 'To instruct the people to fear God and honour the king;'— when, by 'endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace,' in a colony requiring it more than all others, they shall have shown through their lives the influence of the holy religion they profess,—then, assuredly, will the

Colonial Executive step forward 'to extend its countenance and support' to those who are following the Presbyterian creed.

THOMAS BRISBANE.

"GOVERNMENT HOUSE, SYDNEY, *Sept. 24th*, 1823."

This particularly candid letter is suggestive of a few things about which history is silent. Whatever the occasion of censure, the rebuke was sharp, and the imperialism manifest.

Dr. Lang, who was never condemned for servility, nor chided for meekness, treated the missive of colonial authority with no more respect than Luther the publication of the English Defender of the Faith. Passing over the allusion to the teachers, the bond of peace, and the religion professed, he boldly charged at the toleration clause. His Excellency, in praising the toleration of the Church of England, had intimated that if Presbyterians did not approve of her ritual, she did not forbid them to worship in any other way which they might think more likely to glorify religion.

Fresh from the land where his own creed was the orthodox one, the State supported one, and where the Episcopal was the heterodox one, the State slighted one—the fiery Scot could not endure the vassalage of his Church in toleration. "Toleration," cried he, in hasty reply to General Brisbane, "was not the glory of the Church of England, but of the British Constitution. Scotsmen were not, therefore, reduced to the necessity of receiving toleration as a boon from the

Church of England; their civil and religious liberties were won for them by the valour of their forefathers."

Such a form of speech was resented by the Governor, who not only declined to furnish pecuniary aid from the State, but withdrew his name from the list of private contributors.

Nothing daunted, the Presbyterian founder went on with his church building and Church organization: and when he had made his arrangements, he sailed for England, to thunder at the gates of the Home Treasury, till he got justice for his people and cash for his work. His ardour, his crusading energy, his diplomatic skill were rewarded. He returned, in 1826, victor over the colonial Governor, for Earl Bathurst had directed that the New South Wales authorities were to pay one-third the cost of the church in Sydney, and grant a salary of £300 a year to Mr. Lang, as Presbyterian clergyman.

THE FIRST INDEPENDENTS IN AUSTRALIA.

THE land of the gum-tree so abounds with contrarieties in nature, as to be regarded the very home of inconsistencies. It is somewhat singular that, while the distinguished Episcopalian chaplain, Mr. Marsden, had been brought up among the Methodists, the first Wesleyan minister in Australia had been trained as an Independent.

The fathers of modern Independency in Australia

have been reputed to have been the ex-missionaries of the London Missionary Society. Although this institution was at first recognised as thoroughly unsectarian, yet from the first it had the Congregational element strongly developed; and it is now generally regarded as the mission of the Independents.

The story of these early religious settlers of New South Wales is an interesting one.

A splendid effort was made to Christianize the South Sea islanders, whose interesting condition had awakened Christian zeal at the close of the last century. Captain Wilson conveyed a large number of missionaries to Tahiti in 1797. A letter to the directors of the London Missionary Society was sent from Sydney, dated September 1st, 1798, signed by nearly a dozen of the gentlemen who were supposed to be then in the heathen land. They had quitted the field of labour, and had taken refuge in the new convict settlement.

This is their tale:—"Immediately," said they, "on Captain Wilson's leaving the island, we discovered that the natives had concerted a plan to seize our women and property." They prepared for the attack. They were well provided with fire-arms, and considered themselves equal to a host of savages. Some were wearied with long night and day watching, "and would no longer bear arms." Just then, in their extremity, the vessel *Nautilus* came into port, driven by circumstances thither. "It was," said the letter writers, "the unanimous opinion of the whole

body that it was a call in Providence for the married people to leave the island." There were five married men. One of these preferred to stay, his wife being sickly and advanced in age. The other four departed. Seven single male missionaries, who had no women to steal, elected to go with the married pastors. All arrived in safety at Port Jackson, and were put upon the public stores for maintenance.

Somewhat uneasy, perhaps, at the construction that might be put upon their conduct in England, a second letter, dated May 14th, written by two only,—Mr. James Cover and Mr. William Henry, gave some intimation of usefulness opening in the country to which they had been driven.

"On our arrival here," said they, "we were informed that the Rev. Mr. Johnson had been for some time indisposed, and not able to perform the duties of his ministerial function, and that there was but one other minister, a Mr. Marsden, then residing at Parramatta, to attend to all the settlements in the colony: we were much affected at this information, considering it providential that we were brought here." They spoke of the kindness with which they were treated by both. The senior chaplain promised to encourage them all he could. The Governor invited them to dinner; but, with reference to the action to be taken by the clergyman, this advocate of order, quoth the missionaries, "thought it would not be prudent, from the delicacy of their situation, to admit us into the Church, lest they should give offence." Had they asked for admission?

But they were told they were at liberty to open a place and preach. They raised cash, and were going to build a chapel in Sydney, as Mr. Johnson was returning to Europe; but the temporary recovery of his health drove them to a sphere at Toon Gabby, where houses were freely opened for their use. They added, "We have likewise opened an evening lecture at Parramatta, in which place our hearers are desirous of having a chapel erected, as our present place of worship will not contain many."

The work was well begun, though with but a small fraction of the party. But the fervour declined, or obstacles arose. Mr. Cover was the preacher at Parramatta in 1798. His first text was, "Behold I stand at the door and knock." The Parramatta field was soon deserted. Mr. Marsden felt himself sufficient there. Mr. Cover retreated to Kissing Point, on the river, nearer Sydney. There he opened a school, and conducted Sunday services. Mr. Marsden occasionally preached in his room on a week evening. Mr. Crookes, one of the missionaries, kept a school at Parramatta. In a letter written by Mr. Henry in September, 1811, the Directors were informed that two gentlemen had returned to Tahiti, and that he, after being schoolmaster at Parramatta a year, was about to resume the mission work.

The Rev. John Youl, who subsequently became a clergyman of the Episcopalian Church, formed one of a second party of missionaries, calling in at Sydney early in 1800. Governor King, in 1803, speaks of

one Harris from Otaheite: "He is now usefully employed in conducting a school on the banks of the Hawkesbury, where he also performs Divine service, and I believe is as happy as he is making himself useful."

But though some were usefully employed, the majority of the flying missionaries forsook their calling. An old gazette of 1802 admits "the small number of missionaries who are men of strict integrity, and whose hearts are engaged in the task they have undertaken." The letter from the Sydney Wesleyan friends in 1814 has this passage: "There are some Calvinistic Dissenters, missionaries, that were some years since sent by the London Missionary Society to Otaheite and the South Sea Islands. Having been forced to leave the islands, they came to this colony, and many of them have settled here in trade and business." The Rev. Dr. Lang said they "connected themselves with stars of the fourth and fifth magnitude in the constellations Aries and Taurus; or, in other words, in the sheep and cattle market."

When Messrs. Tyerman and Bennett came to Sydney, in 1821, on a tour of inspection through the missions, they could find no Independent cause. When the ever-to-be-honoured John Williams visited New South Wales, he observed the same absence, and requested the body in England to send some ministers.

The Rev. Mr. Jarrett was the first settled pastor of the Independents of New South Wales. He arrived in 1834. A man of rare scholarship and

intellectual refinement, he was scarcely fitted by temperament and habit for a democratic community like that which has always, more or less, existed in Australia. Disunion followed, and Van Diemen's Land became the home of the preacher. In 1838, the Independent chapel was rented by the Presbyterians, as the people were scattered.

The Rev. Dr. Ross became the real founder of Independency in New South Wales. Eloquent in address, practical in effort, genial in manners, he was admired as a man, beloved as a pastor, and reverenced as a teacher. As the superintendent of the London Society's missions, he was able, judicious, and highly successful. He raised a flourishing cause in Sydney, built a fine chapel, and made Independency a great power in New South Wales. The Rev. Joseph Beazley removed from Tasmania to Sydney in 1848, resuscitated another Church, gained a deserved reputation for preaching ability, and enjoyed the love of those who knew his devotion to God and his zeal for man.

The Independents of New South Wales have been the advocates of civil and religious liberty, the uncompromising opponents of tyranny, and the friends of public instruction on a broad, unsectarian basis.

58842

THE QUAKER MISSIONARIES IN AUSTRALIA.

ALTHOUGH the "Society of Friends," from their admirable home-training, their self-denial of doubtful pleasures, their active identity with every good work, were not likely to add to the prisoner population of the colonies, yet individual members were drawn thither in some of the early emigrations.

A peculiar interest was felt by Mr. James Backhouse, of York, in the circumstances of the scattered ones of the Church. The loving-hearted man had also a tender feeling for the outcasts of his own nation, and for the ill-treated aborigines of that distant region. An impulse of duty was stirred within him. The Spirit bade him go; and he was obedient to the direction.

About the same time, the same thoughts were passing through the mind of a young man named George Washington Walker, of Newcastle-on-Tyne. He yielded to the same impressions of duty, and was ready to depart. The quarterly meeting of York sympathised with the declarations of their brother James Backhouse, and the meeting of Newcastle bade "God speed" to George Washington Walker. Thus accepted, the two were drawn together. And most fraternally did they remain together. Their common mission was a common tie; but their own noble and gentle qualities, their own unselfish motives and desires, their own true yearnings for the weal of suffering man, formed the sweet bond that kept them brethren indeed.

They spent six years together. They visited the Australias and the Cape colony. They left the impress of their character everywhere. They dropped pearls of wisdom as they spoke. They were a balm of Gilead to many wounded ones. They drew tears of penitence, and tears of love, but dried up tears of sorrow. They knew no parties, and had no party spirit to oppose them. They embraced all sects within their arms of charity, and strongly marked sectarian lines would fade away at their approach. They spoke by the roadside, they preached in chapels, they were welcomed in the Church. They gained the confidence of Roman Catholics, and the grateful smiles of heathen Aborigines. They came to bless, they left with blessings.

It was in the beginning of 1832 that they reached Hobart Town in the little brig *Science*. The known benevolence of their object, and the respect everywhere entertained for their religious body, procured them a favourable reception, from the Governor to the convict.

Their hearts were touched at the sight of the town gang going through the streets in chains. The haggard looks, the deformed persons, the almost inhuman expression, of these sons of crime, affected them with the deepest interest. They spoke with them in their prison, they pleaded for them with the authorities, they reformed some, and they brought comforts to others.

But they heard the terrible story of Macquarie

Harbour, to which the worst offenders were sent. They were told of the sufferings and atrocities there, and they wished to go there. Entering the Hell's gates of that hell on the western coast, the whole revelation of horrors came before them. One of them, speaking to me ten years after, about the visit, shed tears at the remembrance of the terrors of that place. What a scene for the exertion of their benevolence! The clanking of chains and the sobs of listeners mingled with the sounds of exhortation. I knew one who heard their appeal. He had the iron of despair in his soul, and was nigh perishing in his misery, when the sweet voices reached his ears, sank into his heart, and changed his life.

The sorrows of the Dark-skin next attracted them to the refuge of the Tasmanian race, on Flinders Island.

There they saw the remnant of the tribes, even then fast hastening to extinction. So gentle and so sympathising, they entered the very hearts of the barbarians, and did them good. In their report to the Governor, they suggested things which they thought would be of service to the poor creatures, and in other ways promoted the happiness of the wild ones.

Continuing their mission, Messrs. Backhouse and Walker walked through a considerable part of Van Diemen's Land, as the country was then called, conversing with the scattered settlers, and holding religious meetings. They examined with considerable

care and painful attention the penal station of Port Arthur, afterwards associated with scenes of crime and misery almost rivalling those of Macquarie Harbour.

The "Friends" took ship and paid a visit to New South Wales. They obtained permission to inspect and report upon Norfolk Island prison home. Inspired by their concern for the native inhabitants, they went to the mission field of Wellington Valley, then under the Church of England. Afterwards, they roamed afar northward to the outpost prisons of New South Wales. They saw the convicts toiling under the lash in the mines of Newcastle, and sweltering in the pine and cedar forests of what we now call Queensland. Moreton Bay settlement, as Brisbane was then called, was reasonably an object of dread to many prisoners.

The rambling missionaries stayed long enough in the colonies to witness the rise of two new places, not formed by convicts, but established by freemen. These were South Australia, and Port Phillip, afterwards Victoria. Both were favoured with religious visits. King George's Sound and Swan River completed the circle of their benevolent exertions. In part of the route they met with fellow-workers in Messrs. Daniel and Charles Wheeler, who were on a mission to the South Seas in 1834.

In this visit they brought prominently before those southern settlements their own distinctive tenets, without parade or sectarian zeal. They were thus

able to enlighten prejudice, and shield from persecution, though never soliciting converts. They were witnesses of purity of life and simplicity of discipline. Though speaking frequently in public, engaging in prayer and delivering discourses, they were sometimes silent when most required to speak. When opening the new meeting-house at Sydney, a large number of Christian people assembled to hear the Quakers preach. But no word being given them, the time was spent in absolute stillness.

The prisoners engaged much of their thoughts. Often did they pay them religious visits, and well did they labour to increase their comforts and lessen their burdens. They wrote for circulation their kind and common-sense appeal, called "An Address to the Prisoners of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land," which was of practical benefit to many. To show their catholicity, they published also an "Address to the Free Inhabitants."

Their reports to the Government upon what they deemed abuses or neglects, or conveying suggestions for extended good, were characterized by much prudence, wisdom, tact, and genuine benevolence. The schools much interested them.

Temperance Societies were sown broadcast by these two worthies. The evils of drunkenness came so vividly before their eyes that their voice was lifted up on all convenient occasions, in public and private, at the Governor's table, and the settler's lowly hut, warning and entreating men to shun the cup.

It has sometimes been held to the reproach of good men, that they neglected this world in thinking of the next; and that practical duties are unheeded in the pursuit of the pleasures of sentiment. Such a charge cannot be attached to these two gentlemen. In society they were genial, in life they were human. They were interested in all that related to the extension of knowledge, the development of trade, the progress of science. In their conversation, literature was freely discussed; in their writings philosophers may learn much. The geologist can hear of rocks, the conchologist of shells, the botanist of plants; the naturalist may find a feast in Mr. Backhouse's narrative. Few records of travel contain so much to please both the religious and the scientific.

In 1838, Mr. Backhouse returned to England to his family; Mr. Walker went back to Tasmania. There he settled, marrying Miss Mather, the granddaughter of the Rev. Mr. Benson, the commentator. The author for several years had the privilege of intimate friendship and fellow-working with this good man in Hobart Town. After really serving his generation, he departed from this world in peace. His large family, under the training of such parents, have hallowed the memory of their excellent father in their own useful lives. His companion, Mr. Backhouse, followed his friend about a year ago.

VISIT TO THE FIRST COLONIAL CHURCHYARD.

In 1866, I paid a visit to this ancient collection of ruins. It is situated close to the unfinished cathedral of St. Andrew's, Sydney.

In the *Gazette* of February 5th, 1804, a proposition is made to fence in the ground, as pigs were rooting up the earth and graves. In 1866, I found the pigs employed after the same manner.

An old wall is to be seen, but animals, both biped and quadruped, might obtain access to the spot so dear to the memory of surviving ones. I saw the filth of the neighbourhood unrestrictedly finding its passage there. Graves were open in many cases, and boys burrowing beneath. From the numerous cavities, showing the old timber and the remains of brick vaults, the stench was terrible. The places were used for the common purposes of nature, with a most revolting and disgusting disregard of decency. The headstones, with the exception of a dozen, were thrown down, broken, defaced, trodden over, as the *inclosure* was used as the Church-school playground. The soil was spongy, and soaked with the vile drainage.

And yet, to the historian and antiquary, it is one of the most interesting places in the colonies. I cannot forbear here quoting a passage from the writings of Dr. Nixon, the kind-hearted Bishop of Tasmania. Visiting the islands in Bass's Straits, in 1854, he came to a rocky islet home of sealers and

half-castes. There he found a burial-ground in such order that he expressed his high satisfaction. His remarks then were these:—"I endeavoured, and I hope not without success, to impress upon them the true Christian reason for this feeling; reminding them that, as the body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, so each corpse must be reverently handled and dealt with, as a something which God Himself has vouchsafed to honour and to sanctify for His own dwelling."

The oldest monument I saw bore this inscription:—

"—— KEBLE, 1792, aged 2 years.
O cruel death, that could not spare
A loving child that now lies here:
Great loss to them he left behind;
He eternal joys will find."

There was another almost wholly obscured, but which had the date of January, 1796. A stone was erected to the memory of an ensign of the New South Wales corps, who departed this life July 6th, 1797, Another, to Capt. Gavin Hamilton, "Commander of the late ship *Sydney Cove*," gives the day of departure, June 20th, 1798. The captain was 88 years of age. Others are ancient dates: as, Thomas Lambert, 1809; Gregory, aged 30 years, 1808.

A little tender interest is excited by the record of a stone being dedicated to Mary Ann Worsdall, May 15th, 1805, "by her well-wisher, Wm. Sanders." The young might like to know the tale that grave could tell of parted joys, but of transplanted love.

We may suppose an Irishman of the early times

was remembered in the following rude lines of friendship :—

"WILLIAM CASSIDY, 1818, —52.
His Deth is much lamented by all his
Acquaintence who lost in him a
sincear Frend & Willing to oblige all As far as
lay in his power. May the Lord have Mercy on his Soul."

One is evidently devoted to the memory of a Roman Catholic, as it is headed by a cross:—

"Gloria in Excelsis.
Here layeth the Body of MICHAEL MULHALL,
1820—67. Lord have mercy on his soul."

A second piece of sentiment is revealed by a stone somewhat better sculptured than the rest :—

"To MARY ANN WALLWORTH, 1818, aged 23, erected
by a master ship Builder.
May Heaven's glory rest with you.
Our toils are full, dear friend, Adieu."

The master ship-builder withholds his name; but his tenderness of memory is simply expressed. He loved, and forgot not.

A plain stone is inscribed to :—

"HENRY LEAR, seaman, drowned 1816, aged 30,
erected by the seamen."

A little eccentricity in the sculptor appears in the next :—

I.H.S.
CORNEL^{S} HIERTCHY,
March y^{e} 16, 1812, aged 78.
May he rest in pace. Ame^{n}."

It is gratifying to observe the monument to the memory of an early Governor's servant. The master honoured himself as well as his humble friend. It is declared "Sacred to Memory," etc., of:—

"Mrs. Jeannette Dundas, Housekeeper to his Excellency Governor King, whose family deeply lament the loss of an honest, faithful, affectionate servant, which character the deceased maintained during a service of fifteen years. Obit Dec. 22, 1805, aged 47 years."

One is described in a simpler manner, but which will excite the interest of some of the craft:—

"John Davis—1813—68 years,
A Millwright and Freemason."

There is a much obscured tablet, which indicates, in all probability, some drunken frolic:—

"To . . . who on the evening of . . . 1813,
at his own door . . . deathblow from the hands
of . . . subaltern officers in disguise.
Ye sons of riot and ye slaves of vice
. . . your pleasures at too high a price."

Fragments of stone point to the burial of Mary Latchford, 1814—36; and, with the engraved Freemason's arms, of John Yates, 1818, aged 40.

One of the early years is thus described:—

"Here laieth the body of George Griffis, Serjt. in the New South Wales Corps, who departed this life . . . 1803, aged 28."

The next conveys a pleasing family interest :—

"Gloria in Excelsis Deo.

†

Sacred to the memory of MARY BYRNE, who departed this life Dec. 10th, 1815, aged 46; who left behind three sons to regret the loss of so affectionate a mother.

May the Lord have mercy on her soul."

A quite unnecessary crowding out is seen upon a stone :—

"ELIZABETH DEMSDALE 1800, aged 22, with daughter 2 months."

Two short notices speak of age and kind wishes :—

"DARBY CARBERRY, 1810, 63 years.
May he rest in pace."

The other's name has gone, but the date of death is 1818, and the age 88. Beneath is written :—

"The Lord have mercy on him."

The best preserved and longest epitaph is the following to the :—

"Memory of ZACHARIAH BOWIE, of the 48th Regt., who after the fatigue of a long voyage was unfortunately drowned (in a fit of despair), at Sydney Cove, on the 6th of Sept. 1817, aged 35 years.

In defence of his country he valour displayed,
At Talavera was wounded, but never dismayed.
When prisoner was taken, his sufferings were great,
But his life was prolonged to an untimely fate.
Deprived of sense he wandered to the coast,
His life, alas! by sad mischance was lost.
His body was recovered from the deep,
And here in hopes of bliss he sleeps."

THE FIRST THEATRE.

THE amount of indulgence granted to the prisoners upon landing at Port Jackson, was dictated by policy as well as benevolence. Punishments were few and light, and encouragements were many and substantial. The good were excited to effort by the exhibition of prizes. Grants of land were made, and assistance in seed, tools, and rations was readily afforded.

It was in the same spirit that permission was given, in 1796, for the performance of a play. The convict performers graciously invited the Governor and his officers, but charged the vulgar public one shilling as the price of admission. As coin was not abundant, payment could be made in flour or rum. A critic has judiciously said, "That opening the door of a theatre should hold out a powerful temptation to many who had by that means found the ready road to New South Wales, is not a wonderful thing."

But the chief interest of this theatrical effort is in the remarkable and characteristic prologue spoken on the occasion :—

"From distant climes, o'er wide-spread seas, we come,
But not with much *éclat*, or beat of drum.
True patriots all ; for, be it understood,
We left our country for our country's good.

No private views disgraced our generous zeal,
What urged our travels was our country's weal ;
And none can doubt, but that our emigration
Has proved most useful to the British nation."

Then followed an apology for acting the "Ranger," and scenes of crime.

"He who to midnight ladders is no stranger,
You'll own will make an admirable Ranger;
To seek Macheath we have not far to roam,
And sure in Filch I shall be quite at home.

Here light and easy Columbines are found,
And well-tried Harlequins with us abound;
From durance vile our precious selves to keep,
We often had recourse to th' flying leap;
To a black face have sometimes owed escape,
And Hounslow Heath has proved the worth of crape.

But how, you ask, can we e'er hope to soar
Above these scenes, and rise to tragic lore?
For oft, alas! we've forced th' unwilling tear,
And petrified the heart with real fear.

Macbeth a harvest of applause will reap,
For some of us, I fear, have murdered sleep;
His lady, too, with grace will sleep and talk,—
Our females have been used at night to walk.

Sometimes, indeed, so various is our art,
An actor may improve, and mend his part:
'Give me a horse!' bawls Richard, like a drone;
We'll find a man would help himself to one.

Grant us your favours; put us to the test;
To gain your smiles we 'll do our very best;
And, without dread of future turnkey Lockits,
Thus, in a honest way, still pick your pockets."

GEOGRAPHICAL IGNORANCE.

THE "Botany Bay" residents could not, generally speaking, have received much scholastic advantage in the land of their fathers, or they lost the lesson on the way.

Thus we find some of the first convicts, transported for their part in the Irish rebellion, so struck with the great similarity between the Blue Mountains, some eighty miles from Sydney, and their own beloved hills of Connaught, that they rushed off to reach their home in the West. Their sufferings restored them to reason and chains. One man had long declared his ability to find his way back to Ireland, with a party of his exiled countrymen, if he could only get hold of the thing they steer by. Fortune favoured him at last. He stole a copy of Norrie's "Navigation" from an officer, and tore out the first leaf, as it bore the image of a compass. Unfortunately for the success of his scheme of "homeward bound," the theft was detected. Being asked what he could possibly mean by tearing out that leaf, he sheepishly confessed "It was to steer to Ireland by."

There was a decided *stampede* for China once, as that country was known to be only a little way overland from Sydney. The story goes how one poor creature, after being long lost in the bush, found himself brought up suddenly before a hut, and a woman of his acquaintance. He was naturally astonished, and anxiously inquired how Biddy had found her way

to China? Several died in the scrub, and others were recovered in an exhausted state. The official declaration of March 23rd, 1803, adds, "The Governor only hopes that the convicts at large will be assured that their ridiculous plans of leaving public labour to go into the mountains, to China, etc., can only end in their immediate detection and punishment."

Then came a yarn of a settlement formed by some white people somewhere on the other side of the Blue Mountains. As the difficulties of the passage across that densely wooded range were so great as to be insurmountable to even skilled bushmen, until the year 1813, the suffering in that hungry struggle of runaway convicts may be imagined. The poor creatures that sought the refuge behind the hills were miserably deceived. Rightly did the Governor's order of October 28th, 1802, call the invention "as wicked as it is false." "Some of them were soon captured," said the Governor, and "others wandered about near the place they had left, after being absent ten days, most of them nearly starved, and living on grass for five days out of the ten."

On another occasion, a great rush took place in consequence of a silly report that a private settlement had been made somewhere to the south-west of Sydney. Those who were caught were severely flogged,—some getting even a couple of hundred lashes. But it was reported that at least fifty skeletons were discovered on that route.

So late as in 1814, seven men bolted from their gangs

to go across the Blue Mountains, and so reach the west coast, which could not be far off, as they thought. When arrived there, it was their intention to build a boat, and row over to Timor for escape. The press of the day took great pains to show the extreme folly of these people in undertaking such a journey, when so ignorant of geography; and the editor of the *Gazette* proceeds to exhibit his own learning, by assuring the citizens that the continent was "not less than *five hundred* miles across"(!)

One of the earliest specimens of colonial rhyme was copied from a stone erected over the grave of a child bitten by a snake:—

> it was the subtile surpents bite he cride
> then like A Rose bud cut he drup'd and died
> in life his Fathers glorey
> and his mothers pride

The *Gazette* of February, 1805, reviews the lines, and remarks, "From this eloquent specimen it is obvious that we rapidly attain the zenith in sepulchral poesie."

THE FIRST SCHOOLS OF NEW SOUTH WALES.

If the Home Government thought not of sending a minister of religion with the convicts cast from the British shores, it was equally neglectful of the interests of the children as to education. But the terrible amount of popular ignorance in England at

that period, and the utter indifference of the clergy and public generally to the claims of the young, may be suggested as the reason why the schoolmaster was not sent abroad.

The contrast presented by the Australian colonies at the present time is most gratifying. The charge has been seriously made against the rulers of Great Britain that they allowed one million children to be left without the means of instruction. But against the several popular assemblies of the colonies similar complaints of neglect cannot be preferred, as the most liberal arrangements are made for the support of schools.

Four years after the start of the settlement on Sydney Cove, the Rev. W. Johnson, the first chaplain, wrote to the honoured Society for the Promotion of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. His excuse for not previously communicating with his London friends was the confused social state of the young colony. He then informed them that he had no school yet. Government had been expecting teachers from England, but none came. He represented that convicts must be so employed. The Society made a grant of £10 to each of two women collecting a few children. The Society for the Promotion of the Gospel voted four further sums of £10 each, in 1796, should there be as many teachers found to receive the gift.

As to this Church Society Australia is indebted for her first school aid, her first school sympathy, the colonists will be proud to read the following extract from its report of 1796 :—

"It was resolved upon by the Society, some time since, to extend their assistance to this new settlement, and for that purpose to begin with holding out an encouragement to schoolmasters and mistresses, as the most likely means of effecting a reformation must be by paying all the attention that can be to the instruction and morals of the rising generation."

The first persons who obtained such aid, in 1793, were the following: one, named McQueen, at Norfolk Island, and W. Webster, W. Richardson, and Susannah Hunt, in Sydney. The earliest school was kept in Mr. Johnson's wattle-and-dab church. When this was burnt, some provision was made for the pupils in the court-house, and then in another room. There was a grave difficulty about spelling books. After the endurance of much privation, and unable to get supplies from home, the Governor, in 1810, ordered a number to be printed. At the close of 1797, there were three schools, containing 102 children.

Private schools were soon established, though some would not rate above the celebrated hedge schools of Ireland. One Tull was schoolmaster in Parramatta from 1797 to 1817. Mr. Crook, who had the first boarding school, advertised in 1808. It is stated "he undertakes to teach the English language, or to read, write, or speak, with propriety and accuracy." In 1807, an evening school was begun on the notorious *Rocks* of Sydney, where certainly manners might have been taught to advantage. In 1809, we have a person

advertising a "Royal Road to Learning." He is anxious for six scholars, and undertakes to teach them, from the alphabet to fluent reading of the New Testament, for the sum of five guineas. Another benefactor, named Boston, determined to "advance Australia," proceeded to show the necessity for his own advent as a schoolmaster, by first lamenting in the Sydney paper of 1814, "the bad punctuation, stammering tongues, repetitions, and improper accent," which he detected in the young *cornstalks* of New South Wales.

Government began to move in 1801, when Governor King formed his Female Orphan School. The Male Orphan School was not known till General Macquarie's time, in 1819. They were great blessings in such a confused state of Society. In 1804, some one thought of the chief farming district of the colony, that of the Hawkesbury, and advertised for money to build a school. No response was received. The Governor was annoyed at the culpable negligence of the parents; so, after causing a room to be constructed, he levied a rate of twopence per acre for the support of the teacher.

The number of children receiving instruction in 1819, were 990 in the private schools, and 530 in the public ones. The number grew: in 1826, the Church of England had sixteen schools, with 1037 pupils; in 1840, forty schools and 2436 children. The first Roman Catholic school was established in 1822. The earliest infant school was opened through the efforts of the Attorney-general Bannister, in 1824. The

Female School of Industry was formed soon after by the zeal of Lady Darling. The "Georgian Public School" for the poor, was inaugurated with much demonstration by General Macquarie, in March, 1820. The Church of England King's School of Parramatta was founded by Bishop Broughton, in 1832. The noble institution, called the Proprietary Sydney College, was commenced in 1835 under the superintendence of Mr. W. T. Cape, of well-earned reputation. He was succeeded, in 1841, by a thorough scholar and a Christian gentleman, Dr. Braim, subsequently made Archdeacon of Portland, in Victoria. The Australian College of the Presbyterians was established with great *éclat*, and at noble personal sacrifices, by the Rev. Dr. Lang, in 1832. It was designed to be open to all denominations, without sectarian, dogmatic, religious teaching. In addition to large subscriptions toward the fine building and its appointments, the Government made a loan of £3500, which afterwards subsided into a free grant.

The so-called National School Society was introduced by the Rev. F. Reddall, in 1820; it had 37 schools in 1833. The Australian School Society, especially favoured by the excellent and accomplished Rev. Mr. Mansfield, began its operations in New South Wales in 1836. In England it is known as the British and Foreign School Society, which undertakes the instruction of youth, with the reading of the Scriptures, "comprehending various denominations of Christians, and excluding none."

As the Church of England assumed the authorized teaching of adults, so did it endeavour to secure the sole guardianship of children. This was felt a grievous hardship by others, especially by the Roman Catholics. When Father Thierry sought access to the Orphan Schools, that he might administer religious instruction to youth of his own persuasion, who formed there about half the number of inmates, he was positively refused. In self defence he had to establish a Roman Catholic Orphanage, supported by private contributions. In 1836, it received a grant of £800.

But that by which the whole spiritual and scholastic government of the colony seemed likely to be thrown into the hands of the Church of England, was the Church and School Corporation of 1825. By that Act no less than one-seventh of the land in the settled districts was to be appropriated to commissioners for the sole use of the Church of England. One-half the income or proceeds was to be devoted to churches, parsonages, and schoolrooms; and one-half to the clergymen and teachers.

Although, in consequence of the storm of opposition raised against it, the corporation charter was revoked in 1833, yet it is stated that 435,765 acres were thus granted. The money returns were considerable. The sum of £3764 was obtained from the sale of 140 acres alone. Notwithstanding this, the regular government aid was continued to the clergy and to the schools. Thus, in 1828, the Church of England received £19,300 from the colonial revenue,

the Presbyterians £400, and the Roman Catholics £228.

The Rev. Mr. Thierry, in self-protection, commenced the Catholic Education Society. Dr. Ullathorne exclaimed, "Under such a Church domination, the unfortunate Catholics, and equally unfortunate Dissenters, will be reduced to a worse than Egyptian bondage." The *Sydney Herald*, of May 9, 1831, observed, "It does appear more than inconsistent that the Catholic with 12,000 of his profession, and other sects with perhaps an equal number of individuals of their respective persuasions, should feel satisfied with £500 for revenue *amongst the whole;* whilst the Established Church should be paid £1 per head for their flocks, and receive an enormous grant of one-seventh of the territory besides."

The cause of this heart-burning ceased with the removal of the disabilities of the several denominations. Sir George Gipps desired to establish one general system of public instruction, permitting the Bible to be used in the schools, though without note or comment. The influence of the bishop averted the introduction of this Act of Council. Subsequently, and agreeably to the wishes of both the Church of England and the Roman Catholics, the denominational system was established. This placed the schools under the supervision of the clergy, but gave free exercise to all parties. Thus we find, under that "halfpenny a day" plan, the Church of England receiving for its schools, in 1842, a total of £8601;

the Roman Catholics, £2500; Presbyterians, £967; the British and Foreign School Society, £300; the Wesleyans, £280; and the Independents, £22.

Sunday-schools were so little known in Australia before the coming of Mr. Leigh, that it may be said that the Wesleyans were their founders. The first chaplain, Mr. Johnson, entertained the idea of a Sunday-school as early as 1792, but never carried it out. He mentioned his wishes to the Society for the Promotion of the Gospel in his letters to the committee; but, having but two teachers, and those females, he thought it not proper to require them to teach rough convicts on the Sunday. Mr. Marsden had a small school at Parramatta. But he left that work in the hands of Mr. Leigh, the Methodist. In 1821, there were three Wesleyan Sunday-schools and one Episcopalian school. The first Sunday-school anniversary was held in 1821, at St. Phillip's Church, Sydney, when the Rev. Mr. Cooper, assistant chaplain, delivered the discourse. From that humble origin sprang the powerful organization that has since made itself known and felt in every little township of the colony.

THE RUM HOSPITAL.

In the primitive period the rum currency prevailed. In a purchase, the worth was estimated in quarts or gallons of rum. One Serjeant-major Whittle sold a house to Governor Macquarie for two hundred gallons

of rum. Both gained by the bargain. His Excellency could buy drink cheap, and the serjeant could sell it dear.

A good hospital being much required, three gentlemen,—one subsequently becoming a wealthy citizen and most distinguished statesman,—undertook the erection of the same, providing they had the right of purchasing imported spirits during four years, to the extent of fifteen thousand gallons. They not only supplied the various publicans of the colony, but opened a drinking-place on their own works. In this way, said the Rev. Dr. Lang, they were the means of injuring the settlement, in "overspreading the whole surface of its body politic, in a moral and spiritual sense, with wounds and bruises and putrefying sores." Holt says these persons bought the rum for ten shillings, and sold it at two pounds seventeen shillings and sixpence per gallon.

The *rum mania* was the blight of the early times. When the farmers of the Hawkesbury applied for government help in their distress, in 1798, the first thing the authorities did was to shut up all places selling liquor. In an order, the Governor called such, "the chief cause from which many confessed their ruin to have sprung." When the sale of drink was stayed, prosperity naturally returned. A similar complaint came to Sydney from the Norfolk Island settlers in 1799. An inquiry was instituted, the drink cause was found, and the Governor urged them not "to indulge in such dangerous gratifications."

MILITARY PUBLICANS.

ALTHOUGH a company of marines were sent in the first convict ships to Botany Bay, yet, half a dozen years after, the celebrated New South Wales corps assumed the control of the settlement; and the officers of the same, when not Governors, were most influential in public affairs. That being many years before Trial by Jury, military officers formed the tribunal. Merchants of respectable position being almost unknown in these early times, the officers appropriated to themselves such branches of the trade as they could more easily conduct, or which would be most profitable. Strong drink was the article most in demand, furnishing the largest profit, and sold with the greatest ease. Such military officers therefore became publicans.

The way in which it was managed was this:— The Government, then a despotic one, and virtually consisting of the superior officers of this corps, claimed the right of purchasing spirits from vessels arriving in the port. Individual *permits*, in addition to orders from the Government stores, gave facility to these gentlemen to make purchases on favourable terms. As the licence law was established, and the infraction of its enactments would be to the injury of these military dealers, a wholesome virtue was enforced, and the retailing of the spirits chiefly confided to creatures of the corps.

It is stated that, as these sons of Mars made use of the privileges of their position to secure the sale of

drink, they were equally alive to their self-interest in the selection of nominal servants from among the most presentable of the female convicts. They were furthermore reported to be as studious of the business qualities of their subordinates, as of the grace of their movements or beauty of their features. Suitable premises being engaged by the gentlemanly proprietors of the grog, these females were placed in charge of the spirituous commodities; should these by the tact of their dealing, or by any other arts, promote a speedy sale at suitable rates, they were suitably rewarded.

The Rev. Dr. Braim, in his history of New South Wales, was constrained to write: "Many of the officers obtained licences for retailing spirits, which was so managed that the store or inn in which the business was carried on was left to the superintendence of some female convict, between whom and the licensed officers an immoral *liaison* existed." The very chief constable of the territory held a licence, and sold grog right opposite the gaol door.

GOVERNOR BLIGH AND THE SPIRIT DEALERS.

THE officer who, by want of tact and by undue severity, had excited the mutiny of the *Bounty*, was not the most judicious one to be ruler of a territory where, with all the rigour of discipline, some conciliatory

policy was required, especially in that transitional state of the distant settlements. It is not surprising, therefore, that the quarter-deck self-assertiveness, which caused his crew to revolt in the South Seas, should have excited a rebellion in New South Wales.

Without, however, going into the political question, it is certain that his vehemence in denouncing the spirit traffic of his military officers, and his extreme prohibitory laws, *in defiance of public sentiment*, aroused the vengeance of the accused, and increased the violence of his official foes. And yet the evils of the drink traffic had been recognised before his time, and the cry of its suffering victims had reached the ear of the Home authorities. In fact, Admiral Bligh had received positive instructions, on his appointment, to attend to that important duty. This State document is dated from St. James' Palace, May 25th, 1805, and the part referred to is as follows:—

"And whereas it hath been represented to us that great evils have arisen from the unrestrained importation of spirits into our said settlement from vessels touching there, whereby both the settlers and convicts have been induced to barter and exchange their live stock, and other necessary articles, for the said spirits, to their particular loss and detriment, as well as to that of our said settlement at large: we do therefore strictly enjoin you, on pain of our utmost displeasure, to order and direct that no spirits shall be landed from any vessel coming to our said settlement without your consent, or that of our Governor-in-chief for the

time being, previously obtained for that purpose; which orders and directions you are to signify to all captains and masters of ships immediately on their arrival at our said settlement; and you are at the same time to take the most effectual measures that the said orders and directions shall be strictly obeyed and complied with."

These instructions were definite enough for any man, and were felt particularly binding upon so rigid a disciplinarian as Admiral Bligh. The effects of an easy introduction of spirits into a colony of men suffering the consequences of inflamed passions were sufficiently obvious. As the Chinese authorities objected to free trade in opium that desolated the homes of their people, so did the imperial rulers of New South Wales seek at least to restrict the operations of trade, when connected with a product so seductive in its influence, so prejudicial in its results. The motive was good. The inhabitants were selling their live stock, so precious in a new settlement, and disposing of other *necessary* articles, for that which the Government evidently did not regard as *necessary*, but which decidedly militated against their plans of discipline and their ideas of order.

The Governor does not appear to have acted with undue haste, nor without sufficient experience. He wisely made a progress through his dominions; in other words, he visited the two farming districts of the territory. Then, on February 14th, 1807, he promulgated the following order:—

"His Excellency the Governor laments to find, by his late visit through the colony, that the most calamitous evils have been produced by persons bartering or paying spirits for grain of all kinds, and the necessaries of life in general, and the labourers for their hire; such proceedings depressing the industrious and depriving the settlers of their comforts. In order, therefore, to remedy these grievous complaints, and to relieve the inhabitants who have suffered by this traffic, he feels it his duty to put a total stop to this barter in future; and to forbid the exchange of spirits and other liquor, as payment for grain, animal food, labour, wearing apparel, or any other commodity whatever, to all descriptions of persons in the colony and its dependencies."

Here follow the penalties of disobedience; being, for a prisoner, one hundred lashes and twelve months' imprisonment; and for a free man, a fine of from £20 to £50 and three months' imprisonment. The proclamation thus terminates:—

"His Excellency has the strongest confidence, from the known distress of the colony in consequence of this pernicious barter, that all officers, civil and military, will be aiding and assisting to carry this order into full execution; which ultimately must tend to relieve the distresses of the people, and to give credit and stability to the settlement at large."

The "strongest confidence" in his officers was strangely misplaced. Those gentlemen, civil and military, had grown rich upon the traffic, and were

not likely to promote a scheme for the limitation of their lucrative employment. So troublesome an intermeddler with the principles of Free Trade must be got rid of. Unfortunately, the perverse and stupid, as well as unconstitutional, acts of His Excellency gave them an opportunity to express a righteous indignation against him; and, in a few months after, to carry their virtuous horror so far as to seize his person, and send him away. But the following despatch from home, signed by Lord Castlereagh, December 31, 1807, must have solaced him in his misfortunes:—

"I am to express His Majesty's approbation of the determination you have adopted to put an end to the barter of spirits, which appears to have been abused to the great injury of the colony; and I am to recommend, that whatever regulations you may find it most eligible to establish for the sale of spirits, yet that you will never admit a free importation, but preserve the trade under your entire control; and that you will not fail vigorously to levy the penalties you think to establish for preventing illegal imports."

The *Sydney Gazette* of August 16, 1807, was comforted in its patriotic love of virtue by the following considerations:—"Nothing can be more conducive to sobriety than the present system of spirit dealing,—a high price at a low proof."

THE OLD LICENCE SYSTEM.

If it is found necessary, in so moral a community as England, to guard with jealousy the traffic in alcoholic liquors, it must have been felt increasingly necessary to check the sale of such luxuries in the land of Britain's exiled ones.

The introduction of spirits, etc., into port was placed under the surveillance of Government. Thus, for instance, we read of the arrival of five pipes of port wine, in August, 1802. The Governor selected one for himself, and gave permits for two pipes to the civil officers, and the other two to his military officers, who could thus become sole salesmen of liquors in the colony.

It was very soon found out that distillation from grain grown in the colony was a very profitable pursuit. Governor Hunter, in his order of February 28th, 1799, forbade the use of stills. Other enactments followed, enforcing that order, on the ground of the general destruction of grain, so needful in a place subject to famine from drought and river overflow, as well as distance from a corn country. Whenever a bad harvest came, an order appeared to remind the settlers of the law about the manufacture of spirits, called by one in that day, "the forbidden fruits of the colony." Governor Bligh issued a proclamation against distillation. Governor King, in his order of August 11th, 1805, speaks of stills as "engines of destruction;" and refers to the act as a purpose so

certainly calculated to ruin the present healthy state of the inhabitants, exclusive of other pernicious consequences, equally affecting the prosperity of the individual as subversive of public tranquillity. In 1821 distillation was allowed. In the *Sydney Gazette* of 1823, we have the assurance of the colonist's double satisfaction, "in quenching his thirst" for colonial spirits, "that he is drinking for the good of his country."

The Distillation Act is dated from December 30th, 1820. This is its preamble:—

"His Excellency the Governor having determined, in conjunction with the Honourable the Commissioner of Enquiry, upon the expediency of permitting distillation of spirits from grain within the territory, . . . join in the anticipation of the benefits that the inhabitants of this colony have so long contemplated in this measure; but equally sensible of the necessity of combining with its advantage adequate security for the public revenue, as well as security against the evils of an unrestricted exchange of spirits for grain, they are desirous of explaining and discussing, with such persons as may be willing to embark their capital in colonial distillation, the regulations and provisions which they have considered necessary to secure these objects."

The colony is, therefore, indebted to Mr. Commissioner Bigge, appointed by the Crown to inquire into the state of the colony, for two things at least,—the right of distillation, and the selection of the first archdeacon of New South Wales; the latter gentleman

came out in the capacity of private secretary to Mr. Bigge. And yet the commissioner reported, "From the disposition that had previously been evinced by Governor Macquarie to increase rather than diminish the number of houses licensed for the sale of spirits in Sydney and other towns, it did not appear to me that he had viewed in the same light that I did, the great evil of placing strong temptation in the way of men, whose previous habits," etc.

It was not every distiller that was so clever as the Sydney miller, described in the *Gazette* of 1823. Of him it was said, "while he will be making rum from wheat, he will also be grinding the wheat into flour."

The first notice of licences appears in a proclamation dated from Sydney Government House, October 1st, 1800. It declares, "no person whatever is allowed to sell or retail any spirituous liquors; and if any person shall presume to land spirits or wines from any vessel, without the Governor's own permit in writing, such person so offending shall be punished as the law directs, for selling spirits without a licence." By an order, dated October 27th, it is directed that magistrates shall recommend persons suitable to hold annual licences. On November 1st, it is announced that no gambling and drunkenness can be allowed in such public-houses; and that no sale of drink can take place between the evening *tattoo* of the drummer and the morning light. An act of April 10th, 1801, requires these houses to be closed from daybreak on Sunday till nine at night!

Licences were subsequently granted for a year, from the first of November, by these magistrates. The publicans were bound in a personal bond for £20, and two sureties of £10 each. Any one selling without a licence, not only incurred the penalties of fine and imprisonment, but had his liquor seized and his house pulled down to the ground. In 1809, there were forty-nine licences granted. In 1810, there were fifty licences in Sydney for beer alone. In 1819, there were fifty spirit licences issued for Sydney; six for Parramatta, and six for other places. Governor King put a duty of £5 on 100 gallons.

An early notice of one of these houses of entertainment appears in the local paper for January 15th, 1804: "A Highland gala was on Monday last held on the ROCKS, which was numerously attended by REELERS, to the harmonious dronings of the melodious bagpipe. The MULL and MUTCHKIN equally predominated; and at breaking up the dancers REELED down the ROCKS with incredible velocity." The *Rocks* formed a notorious part of Sydney, near the water side. In the *Gazette* of the same year is an account of the burial of a notorious old woman, who kept a house for drink and vice on the celebrated *Rocks*. 'From twelve to fifteen couples of *spotless* damsels," says the reporter, "robed in white, followed in procession; and after depositing the venerable remains, returned to her late apartments, where *spiritual* consolation was duly administered."

A Government brewery was established in 1804.

The person in charge was required to allow each officer of Government to draw five gallons a week, to be used or sold. The settlers could purchase at sixpence a quart; and pay for the same in corn, provided the supply permitted the manufacture of sufficient beer. To avert so calamitous an issue, the Governor's order of October 1st, 1804, is pleased to observe. "The raising and supplying of barley will greatly depend on the settlers, in exchange for which they are assured of beer." Crown debtors, for loan of stock, &c., are urged to pay in barley, so as to keep up the supply of beer. Subsequently a Government order is sent forth, to condemn the practice of some farmers, who, to save the shedding of the corn in the hot sun, sometimes cut the crop in a green condition. It was not for the injury to the food that the practice was prohibited, but because they "defeat the intention of supplying the inhabitants with beer."

MORALS IN EARLY SYDNEY DAYS.

When we now visit the capital of New South Wales, and observe the order of its streets, the number of its places of worship, the respect paid to Sunday, the well-filled schools, and the healthy vigour of its moral appliances, we cannot but acknowledge that, at least in the outward exponents of respectability and propriety, the city is not behind the leading towns of Great Britain. But a glance at the early times of the settle-

ment will exhibit its past social history, and make us grateful for the pleasing change.

It is not to be supposed that a country established by convictism, and for many years deprived of the purer blood of free emigration, should present the fairer side of humanity. The only wonder is that a community formed of such materials should have developed so favourably. The acquisition of property has proved a real moral lever in many cases. The elevation of the father in wealth has raised the son in position, and removed him from that grosser society in which his less fortunate parent had been reared. Without doubt, the schoolmaster abroad was an agent in checking the growth of vice and reforming the habits of the people. The extension of political freedom was especially advantageous to morals. It acted upon men's self respect, it identified the individual with the good of the country, it made the welfare of the home dependent upon the act of the citizen, and a sense of responsibility restrained the passions of the man, while it led him to feel he was his brother's keeper. From this source sprang enactments for the repression of vice and the advancement of virtue.

But it is, without doubt, to the self-denying and persistent efforts of the religious of all denominations, each in his sphere, that the happy transformation is to be mainly attributed. These were the sympathisers with the tempted, the helpers of the fallen, the denouncers of the tempters, the trainers of little ones.

In exhibiting the moral deformities of the past, the

design is not to portray the solitary repulsiveness of the penal settlements, nor to heap contumely and scorn upon the first settlers of Australia. Historic truth demands that the story of that remote period be told with all fidelity, and the reader may be rightly shocked at the incidents revealed. At the same time two things are to be borne in mind; first, that these bad people brought their bad ways from Britain, and that Britain made no provision for their getting better.

If so vile under the gum-tree shade, it was because they had been left guideless in the courts and alleys of European cities. If ignorant, brutal, and vicious, it was because no school had been provided for their infancy, no moral force exerted for their good, no protective agencies employed to shield them from the evil around them. Britain left them to grow up savages, and expatriated them to become more barbarous still.

Again, one cannot help believing that the degradation of society in New South Wales was but an illustration of life in England at the time. The annals of the day unfold the Hounslow Heath atrocities, the English Sabbath cockfights, the Scotch drinking, the Irish ruffianism. Whitefield's career, and Wesley's experience, will attest the veracity of the statement that, in respect to morals, the land of our fathers, with its army of clergy of every order, its floods of literature, and its legions of schools, was not so far in advance of New Holland as is commonly imagined. But, as the historian of Australia, it is my simple business to illustrate the condition of society in the new home of the exiles.

One of the earliest authorities, the writer of the so-called Barrington's narrative, has this statement: "It now became too obvious that, instead of employing each Sunday in the performance of those duties for which that day was set apart, it was passed in committing every vile act of dissipation." The *Sydney Gazette*, the Government record, was published on successive Sundays for many years. Judge Burton says, "One of the earliest governors had to be informed by the clergyman that five or six persons only attended Divine service; and it was then that he determined to go himself, and stating that he expected that his example would be followed by the people." One person writes of the early times: "So incorrigible were some of the convicts, particularly those of the gaol gang, that they were ordered to work every Sunday on the highway, as a punishment." In a House of Commons' report in 1812, it is stated, "In Governor Hunter's time the attendance of the convicts was enforced at church. This compulsion appears to have been neglected during the government of Admiral Bligh."

It was well known that very inadequate means were used to restrain the vicious, or to protect the well-intentioned. The English people were as culpable as their official heads in their neglect of the poor expatriated creatures. Bishop Broughton was bold enough in London to affirm that, "So far as the inhabitants of this country are concerned, the thousands of convicts who are annually transported, are cast forth

upon the shores of those colonies without any precaution being taken or efforts made to prevent their instantly becoming pagans and heathens."

When the settlement was formed in 1788, it consisted of 565 male convicts, 212 marines, and 192 women only. Afterwards, the proportion of females was even less, as much fewer of the gentler sex were transported to the colonies. There were usually four males to one female transported. Dr. Cunningham asserts that in his day the females numbered but one-eighth of the whole people. It is not surprising that one wrote thus: "As long as the great disproportion continues to exist between the male and female population in New South Wales, the temptations to illicit intercourse in both, and all the crimes that are committed for the purpose of supporting it, must be expected to prevail."

The poor convict women were most shamefully neglected by the authorities. Even on the voyage out, they were exposed to the utmost liberty of licentiousness. No one was in charge of their moral safety. The officers and crew shared them among them in most unblushing iniquity. One gentleman, Dr. Cunningham, seems to defend the abominable practice, unworthy of the most degraded nation of heathen darkness. "Poor Jack," says he, "is planted in a perfect garden of temptation when among, probably, a hundred of these fair seducers." He ventures to make an apology for this promiscuous intercourse on shipboard, that thus the women may be partially re-

formed on the voyage by being "initiated in the moral principles of personal attachment" (!) Dr. Reed refers to the "riot, wickedness, and abandonment amongst seven women who were permitted to accompany the soldiers that formed the guard in the *Neptune*, in 1817." Another mentions the Sunday on shipboard in these terms: "A surgeon gave the reading of the Church service sometimes to a woman, who used to burlesque the whole." The early press relates the story of a silly sailor, who went ashore at Sydney, drunk, one evening, to recover from a female convict some clothes he had given her while cohabiting with him on the voyage; but in a quarrel he got shot.

A Governor, even in 1808, reported home "the loose and dissolute character of the settlers and their servants, amongst whom the women are principally distributed." Treated as slaves, they were ordered to homesteads where any remaining trace of decency and modesty would be effectually removed. An order was, however, made, July 24th, 1813, by the worthy Governor Macquarie, that "no fresh female convict will in future be assigned to any settler or other person, unless he is a married man." This order, alas! was little heeded by the officials who had the administration of affairs. The state of the community is illustrated by the following proclamation of General Macquarie, dated February 24th, 1810, instigated, said the unworthy crew of the dissolute, by Mrs. Macquarie.

"Whereas His Excellency the Governor has seen,

with great regret, the immorality and vice so prevalent among the lower classes of this colony; and whereas he feels himself called upon in particular to reprobate and check, as far as lies in his power, the scandalous and pernicious custom so generally and shamelessly adopted throughout this territory, of persons of different sexes cohabiting and living together unsanctioned by the legal ties of matrimony," etc.

"His Excellency the Governor, aware of the frequency of such illicit connections, and seeing the shameless and open manner in which they are avowed, to the utter subversion of decency and decorum, is compelled to express, in this public manner, his high disapprobation of such immorality, and his future resolution to repress by every means in his power all such disgraceful connections; and publicly declares, that neither favour nor patronage will be extended to those who contract or encourage them."

The Rev. Mr. Cowper reports the marriages in Sydney as being far below the rate of increase of population, and so proving the extent of colonial depravity. In 1810, there were 181 marriages; in 1811, 56; in 1812, 43; in 1813, 52; in 1814, 41; in 1815, 62; in 1816, 48; in 1817, 47.

The culpability of Government cannot be denied. Doubtless the trouble of taking care of the female prisoners was considerable. To keep them in idleness, and have the charge of their maintenance, did not seem a judicious course. To dispose of them among the settlers, without due regard to the moralities,

was certainly wrong. Many were, upon landing, transferred to the custody of husbands, or some reputed friends. To enable others to earn their own living an early indulgence was given. *Tickets of leave* were formerly freely given to those who could show a reasonable hope of supporting themselves. Some came to the colony with the very rewards of their own previous infamy. Money, in not a few cases obtained from robbery and vice in England, was brought by the women to Port Jackson. Strange to say, the possession of such capital was as good as a recommendation for character on the voyage in procuring a *ticket of leave.* "This," said Mr. Bigge to the House of Commons, "tends to produce a belief that opulence can redeem the consequences of crime." He condemned, among other things, the system of assignment of women. Their distribution in Sydney was entrusted to a man, who was, according to Mr. Bigge, "himself not exempt from the charge of immoral habits and connexions."

The Rev. Mr. Cowper, in a speech in 1824, declared that in the earlier times "the Sabbath was unknown," and that "in 1809, almost the whole of the Australian population was living in a state of unblushing concubinage." In 1811, the Governor, after a tour in the interior, spoke in a general order of "the total disregard to the common decencies of civilized life." In a despatch from Governor Bligh, the Home authorities were informed that "in the beginning there were two-thirds of illegitimate children."

The press did not always help forward a reformation by its mode of narrating colonial incidents. Thus, the reader of the paper of October 23rd, 1803, is told this story;—"The man at Balkham-hills, who lately cried down the credit of his wife, did so merely to raise her reputation and enhance her worth, as he was desirous probably of 'making the best of a bad bargain.' He had since converted her into an article of traffic, the net produce upon the sale of which amounted to six bushels of wheat and a large black inhabitant of the stye, received in barter from a settler at Hawkesbury." The *Gazette* of September 11th, 1808, sets forth a domestic scene, and adds, "With all possible composure the good Sir Benedict resigned his Beatrice (aged sixteen) to a less captious admirer, on condition that his antlers should be tipped with gold; and for five solitary guineas he resigned all right and title to his unrelenting rib" And yet we have an appeal against the seducer, in May 20th, 1820. "For shame, men, for shame!" cried the editor. "No, no! marry the girl when she is virtuous, and then you will find a good mother to your children, and an attentive helpmeet through life."

Order did not reign in the streets of the townships in that period. Travellers were warned by a proclamation in 1817, not to travel between Sydney and Parramatta except in day time, in consequence of the number of robbers. One, writing in 1821, describes the danger of passing near the locality of the *Rocks*, where the worst population of Sydney re-

sided, as especially after dark there was "the hazard, or rather certainty, of being stripped and plundered." Both the gaols of the two primitive settlements were burnt by the convicts, with some loss of life. The Sydney gaol was eighty feet long, with the sides and roof of rough logs, but a floor of clay. There was no want of punishment to restrain crime. Hanging was frequent, and lashes to the extent of a thousand strokes were freely administered. Messrs. Backhouse and Walker, the Quaker missionaries, were informed by an officer that, during his fifteen months' duty at one prison, not less than one thousand men were flogged there.

The Government could not help acknowledging its own weakness. An order, in 1800, proclaims that "from the late increase of nocturnal robberies, there is much reason to suspect that the petty constables and divisional watchmen are either extremely negligent in the performance of their duty, or that they suffer themselves to be prevailed upon by the housebreakers to be less vigilant than that duty requires, and to connive at their depredations on the honest inhabitants." As convict constables, they could hardly refrain from the indulgence of a fellow-feeling for the thieves of the day. In 1821, so many prisoners were at large, and such weak means existed to get them in, that a proclamation was issued, *inviting* them to return before the 1st of January, 1822, and declaring that all such, with the exception of those guilty of murder or highway robbery with violence, should receive a free pardon upon their return to society.

A street fight took place between two women, one a little person, and the other of large proportions. It is thus described in the *Sydney Gazette* of May 29th, 1808:—

> "The weaker vessel soon gave way,
> And prostrate on a fragment lay,
> Her eyes their boasted lustre lose,
> And sight itself huge wounds oppose.
> From various openings a purple tide
> Swells to excess the victor's pride;
> Till quite subdued by many a *cuff*,
> The *Fair* declared *she'd had enough*."

In such a state of misrule the condition of the female convicts may be conceived. A proclamation of 1800 shows great anger at the class, "who, to the disgrace of the sex, are far worse than the men, and are generally found to be at the bottom of every infamous transaction that is committed in the colony." Such offenders are ordered in future to be well flogged.

The extra punishment for women, confinement in prison with hard labour, could be commuted by a sentimental process. Supposing the lady was tired of her monotonous life there, she found means to communicate with a masculine friend in town, who would be readily, and at command, smitten with an irresistible sympathy, and overwhelmed with an ardent desire to link his fortune with hers. Although "a love affair," the arrangements were conducted with a precision and a business coolness not un-

characteristic of marriages in higher places. The man made application for her to be his wife. As the authorities were always glad to get the woman off their hands, and the husband became responsible for her custody and support, license to marry was procured without much difficulty, and without needless and perplexing inquiries as to the number of husbands the lady had been previously pledged to obey. Such union at once procured the opening of the prison doors to the bride elect, for no orange blossoms could be displayed within the dungeon's realm.

But the negotiations were duly, though secretly, carried on between the two leading parties. A covenant was entered into. He was to undergo the risk and trouble of procuring her release, by the exchange of prison bands for the rosy bonds of matrimony, but she was to agree to certain terms of redemption. Dr. Reed, in 1822, thus mentions the story of these sham marriages: "Making a contract beforehand that the woman (wife so called) should appropriate a certain quantity of the wages of sin for the support of the man who thus espouses her. In this state the degraded victim of sensuality is often transferred from one master to another, banding about in this shocking and unnatural way, until the mere figure is all that remains of the human being."

The theology of the period may be gathered from an epitaph on the tombstone of a constable assassinated in 1803.

"My midnight vigils are no more,
Cold sleep and peace succeed;
The pangs of death are past and o'er,
My wounds no longer bleed.
But when my murderers appear
Before Jehovah's throne,
Mine will it be to vanquish there,
And theirs t' endure alone."

MRS. FRY'S NEWGATE WOMEN AT BOTANY BAY.

WHO does not remember with interest the labours of Mrs. Fry and her excellent companions among the female prisoners of Newgate? The moral revolution in that home of vice and sorrow by their ever-to-be-admired devotion and benevolence was genuine and wonderful. When those poor convicts who were sentenced to transportation went on board the ship, they were visited in kindness, counselled with affectionate earnestness, and provided with many personal comforts besides religious books. They sailed for New Holland with the prayers and hopes of these pious ladies of Britain. Every care was taken to place them under the care of an excellent gentleman as the surgeon superintendent, and every provision was made for their protection and guidance during the voyage.

How did these women find matters on their arrival at the penal settlement, and what means were adopted

there to continue the course of moral training so auspiciously commenced?

When sailing up the magnificent harbour of Port Jackson, when gazing at the wood-crowned heights that saw their beauty reflected in the calm waters of each romantic cove, when charmed with the soft airs that reached them perfumed by a thousand flowers, the poor women may well have dreamed of joys to come, may well have believed that in such a paradise of nature they could and would be good. Some, whose hearts had been softened under the last appeals of their medical friend, were there leaning over the bulwarks, looking with moistened eyes to the fair scene where homes of peace awaited them, and the prospect of a new and better life sunned forth before them.

But, as they neared the landing place, the vision of their happiness became shrouded, as the earth by a cloud before the storm. Reckless, swearing men, and wanton-looking, ragged, and foul-mouthed women, were there saluting their approach, and heralding their visit to no haven of moral rest. The reeking smell from rum shanties met them on their walk to the temporary shelter at the Sydney goal, where they were to be for the night.

How that night was passed is best told by Dr. Reed. "On visiting the gaol in Sydney," said he, "the morning after the prisoners had been landed, I found that many of them spent the night in noise and indecent revelry, occasioned by beer and spirits which

had been introduced, and that could not have been done without the knowledge of their keepers."

They were not received by a clergyman, but they were by the depraved who sought their lower fall, and who had the most extraordinary facilities for accomplishing their object. Strong drink, their English foe, was thus paraded before them in all its hideous but alluring charms. This was in 1822, thirty-four years after the formation of the settlement, and after thirty-four years' authorized religious teaching by those who, as leading magistrates of the colony, suffered so frightful an interference with common police regulations.

The next day the women were to be conducted to the female factory, or depôt, at Parramatta, some fifteen miles from Sydney. A boat excursion from one town to the other is, as the writer can testify, one of ever-changing scenes of beauty. But to those unhappy creatures it was no romantic trip, nor were the associations of their progress calculated to strengthen their resolutions of reform, or their hopes of peace. They went in parties, rowed up in boats by convict constables, among the most brutal and abandoned of men. Often were they from eight to ten hours on the passage, exposed to all the temptations to which their own helplessness and wretchedness, their guardians' force and licentiousness, could leave them.

This is the tale told to the British House of Commons by Mr. Bigge :—"In their passage thither from

Sydney, great irregularities take place; and the women frequently arrive at Parramatta in a state of intoxication, after being plundered of such property as they had brought from the ship with them."

Arrived at Parramatta, the real seat of government in those days, the residence of Mr. Marsden, the chaplain of New South Wales, they are taken to the factory, which was then under the especial control and management of the clerical magistrate.

It was not a mere gaol for punishment, but part of the building was devoted to the reception of women out of service, or newly introduced from shipboard. This dirty, foul, and miserable place had its moral surroundings of even profounder filthiness. Well did Mr. Bigge report to the English nation that "the insufficient accommodation that is afforded to those females who might be well disposed, presented an early excitement, if not an excuse, for their resort to indiscriminate prostitution; and on the evening of their arrival at Parramatta, those who were not deploring their state of abandonment and distress were *traversing the streets.*"

Mr. Bigge's anger was justly excited on his visit there. He blamed the Governor, he blamed the local magistracy, and especially blamed the resident magistrate, who was the senior chaplain of the colony. The Rev. Mr. Marsden had represented in 1815 the need of better appliances. But why did he suffer the wrong so long? And why, if some evils were not remedied upon his official expostulations, did he not,

at any rate, do something to protect the poor women from the insults of rude, licentious convicts, or afford them some moral shelter and sympathy in the pitiless storm to which they were exposed?

The British parliament received this intelligence from their reporter:—"The state in which the place itself was kept, and the state of disgusting filth in which I found it,—the disordered, unruly, and licentious appearance of the women, manifested the little degree of control in which the female convicts were kept."

Even the discomforts were sufficient to drive them to mischief. Mr. Bigge wrote: "The women have no other beds than they can make from the wool in its dirty state; and they sleep upon it at night in the midst of their spinning-wheels and work. No attempt has been made to preserve cleanliness in this room." Its notorious character continued bad; for we find a writer in the *Sydney Gazette* of 1837, speaking of it as "a hotbed of depravity." Dr. Cunningham could make a joke about love signals from the hill to the women below, and be merry about the matches "resulting from the tender attachment formed within the love-inspiring walls of the lock-up house;" but the fact of the factory being a source of moral contagion to the colony was recognised by the thoughtful men of the time.

How did Dr. Reed find Mrs. Fry's Newgate women at the Parramatta Factory? This is his story:—

"On their arrival the preceding evening, they had

not got within the factory before they were surrounded by hordes of idle fellows, convicts, who were provided with bottles of spirits, and others with provisions, for the purpose of forming a banquet, *according to custom*, which they assured themselves of enjoying without interruption, as a prelude to excesses which decency forbids to mention." Then he reports: "One of the women, whose disposition had been particularly improved on the voyage, and who retained a strong sense of propriety, exclaimed with tears of anguish: 'O God! sir, we are all sent here to be destroyed!'"

The worthy doctor enters into particulars about the edifice itself, in the workshop of which, associated with male labourers in the daytime, they were employed in the manufacture of a rude cloth from wool. "Detached from the factory," he tells us, "is a wooden building, in a state of decay, open almost at every point,—all the elements of nature may enter in; unfortunately, too, it is permeable to the unhallowed step of drunken licentiousness. In this crazy mansion the women from the *Morley* were placed on their arrival; and during the day were not allowed to stray far from it, at least, not before they had done a certain quantity of work; but this being performed, they were at liberty to go whither they pleased, and entertain whom they pleased. It is true that the detached building mentioned was assigned them as a sleeping place; but here they were surrounded by ruffians more destructive to females in their circumstances

than a pack of wolves could have been. Spirits obtained by iniquitous means, brought as an incentive to the worst purposes, enabled these ragged wretches to drag them down into the same level of licentiousness and vice."

This was the home to which the British government sent the penitents of the ladies' mission in Newgate!

Not many months ago I walked through the building afterwards erected as the factory of Parramatta, though parts of the original place remained. It was then devoted to the care of the insane. But as I met the idiotic glance of some of its sad inmates, I felt that it was far less shocking a sight than that which met the poor women of the *Morley* convict ship.

The Parramatta Factory has quite a history of its own. It was originally planned and built by the magisterial chaplain, the Rev. S. Marsden. Its bad reputation continued long after Dr. Reed's visit. When female convicts in service were found showing signs of approaching maternity, they were sent to the factory, which was much more a lying-in hospital than anything else. No attempt was ever made to discover the father. The children were brought up by thirty resident convict nurses, engaged for the purpose, and transferred to the *Orphan*-schools when arrived at the age of three years, should they live as long in such a place and under such care. In 1828 there were 537 women in the establishment. Such was the character of these mise-

rable convicts that the chief-justice of New South Wales urged the discontinuance of transportation of females. He spoke of the superadded evils of their intemperance and unchastity, "two vices which, in women, corrupt the sources of domestic peace, and render them a great public nuisance."

When Mr. Mudie, a settler, was examined before a committee of the House of Commons, he gave an account of the system of getting a wife from the factory, which may be interesting to quote.

"If," said he, "a master has a convict that he is anxious to keep, and whom he believes to be well behaved, it is considered a great indulgence if he gives him permission to get a wife from the factory; but the master must enter into an engagement with the Government to feed and support the woman, and, in fact, the offspring, to prevent its being a burden upon the Government. This being done, the man goes, and he gets an order to the matron of the factory, and, of course, this is for a wife. There was a certain number of the women that were not allowed to marry; but with respect to those not under punishment, Mrs. Gordon says, 'Well, turn out the women of such a class.' They are turned out, and they all stand up as you would place so many soldiers, or so many cattle, in fact, at a fair—they are all ranked up. It is requisite for me to state that the same sort of ceremony, and the same mode, occurs with a free-man; for there are free-men that go to the factory to select a wife. The convict goes up and looks at

the women; and if he sees a lady that takes his fancy he makes a motion to her, and she steps on one side. Some of them will not, but stand still and have no wish to be married; but this is very rare. Then they have, of course, some conversation together, and if the lady is not agreeable, or if the convict does not fancy her from her conversation, she steps back, and the same ceremony goes on with two or three more. I have known an instance of convicts going, and having the pick of one or two hundred without finding one to please them; the lowest fellows you can fancy have said, it wouldn't do; they could not get one to suit. But if he finds one to please him, they get married."

And yet things had improved, a better day had begun to dawn, even before the arrival of the *Morley*. Few narratives of the early times can be more shocking than the account given by the Irish rebel, William Holt, an eye-witness of the occurrences of which he speaks:—

"Governor King's proceeding respecting the poor convict women, on their arrival in the colony, was abominable. They were disposed of by Potter, the bellman, as so much live stock. I have seen them afterwards sold—one of them for a gallon of rum, others for five pounds, and so on; and thus they were transferred from one brutal fellow to another, without remedy or appeal."

And this took place in the nineteenth century, in a portion of the British dominions, and in the presence

of Christian Englishmen, and was exercised upon no heathen or savage, but upon a country-woman and fellow-Christian!

THE FIRST NEWSPAPER IN AUSTRALIA.

In this age of progress, this era of the press, it is especially interesting to trace the rise of literature, the birth of a newspaper. The *Melbourne Argus* and the *Sydney Morning Herald*, of the present time, will not unfavourably compare with most of the leading papers of Europe. Let us go back to the year 1803, when the first specimen of Australian periodicals appeared.

When I saw the first issue, dated March 5th, 1803, I could not but regard it as a faithful historical exponent of the early times. It was very badly printed, on four pages of foolscap paper. It bore, at the top of the first page, its name, *The Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser;* with a very rude little wood engraving, representing a ship, with a Union Jack, and an allegorical female figure seated on the shore. It gave the date of the commencement of the colony, 1788. Around the picture these words were written:—"Thus we hope to prosper." It was declared to be published by authority, by George Howe.

The address of the printing editor is very simple:—

"Innumerable as the obstacles were which threatened to oppose our undertaking, yet we are happy to

affirm that they were not insurmountable, however . . . a task before us.

"The utility of a PAPER in the Colony, as it must open a source of solid information will, we hope, be universally seen and acknowledged. We have courted the assistance of the INGENIOUS and INTELLIGENT; . . . We open no channel to political discussion, or personal Animadversion;—Information is our only Purpose; that acknowledged, we shall consider that we have done our duty, in an exertion to merit the Approbation of the PUBLIC, and to ensure a liberal Patronage to the SYDNEY GAZETTE."

Official advertisements follow on the first page. One notifies the receiving granaries at Parramatta and the Hawkesbury. Another is so connected with a bit of colonial history, that it may be quoted:—

"The Governor having permitted Mr. Robert Campbell to land 4000 gallons of spirits, for the domestic use of the Inhabitants, from the *Castle of Good Hope*, it will be divided in the following proportions,—viz: For the Officers on the Civil Establishment (including Superintendent and Storekeeper), 1000 gallons; For Naval and Military Commissioned Officers, 1000 gallons; For the Licensed People, 1000 gallons; To be distributed to such Persons as the Governor may think proper to grant Permits to, 1000 gallons.

By Command, W. N. CHAPMAN, Secretary."

&c., &c.

A notice to correspondents is next perceived.

"Two Slip Boxes will be put up in the course of the ensuing Week (one in front of the Issuing Stores at Sydney, the other in a Window of the Court House, Parramatta) for the Reception of such Articles of Information as Persons who are possessed of the means may think proper to contribute."

An interesting piece of geographical news is given, when notifying the arrival of the *Castle of Good Hope* of a thousand tons, and yet "the largest ship that has ever entered this port," although several men-of-war had been there. It is stated,—"Her passing through Bass's Straits, instead of going round Van Diemen's Land, considerably shortened her passage, and saved many cows."

The other intelligence consists of lists of prices,—full grown fowls, 2*s.* 6*d.* to 3*s.* each; and potatoes, at Kissing Point, at 12*s.* per 100 lbs.; the narrative of a fight with the constables; the particulars of an accident, and of some executions; the story of wife-selling at Manchester; and the record of the fact that "Religion is proceeding with a most rapid influence among the first societies of Paris."

Ships were neither fast nor frequent then; as the latest intelligence from home, given at Sydney on March 5, 1803, is that of a dreadful fire at Woolwich, the 20th of May, 1802!

Thus was commenced the press of Australia.

The first weekly paper was published on Saturday; but for several years it appeared on Sunday. The change is noticed on April 2nd, 1803: "As it has

sometimes happened that in consequence of this Paper's being published on Saturdays, we have been necessarily compelled to omit some matter that might be interesting; we beg leave to acquaint our Readers that its Publication will in future take place on Sundays; by which means we shall be enabled to include the whole of the Ship News, and other interesting matter for the preceding week. The inhabitants of Sydney will therefore be in future duly served on Sunday."

The outward aspect of the *Gazette* varied, not according to the will of the printer, but the supply of paper. The poor man was not very particular when he could advertise, as he did January 13, 1805:—

"Wanted to purchase, any quantity of demy, medium, folio post, or foolscap paper, for the use of printing; and which, if by any accident from damp or slight mildew, rendered unfit for writing, will answer the purpose."

For several months in 1805 and 1806 the *Gazette* could only come out on two pages of foolscap weekly. In one number there were four government advertisements, and four private ones. With more paper, four pages were taken up. In March, 1806, the foolscap was changed, being over an inch longer. That same year an advertisement offers "a liberal deduction to every subscriber furnishing paper; viz., six sheets of demy, eight of foolscap, or twelve of quarto letter paper."

The following year, 1807, the supply proved too

short for the printer, as his type, which would not but keep to its frame, came to the very edge. There were three columns on each of the two pages, having altogether about three thousand words; and, therefore, not equal in matter to an orthodox issue of the London *Times*. A larger paper gave longer columns, but only the six, through 1808, 1809, 1810, etc. Often the paper was coloured. In March, 1813, the paper was longer and broader, though with the same size columns, and the two pages only.

Several instances occurred where the weekly budget of news contained nothing local or colonial. Even the paper of February 11th, 1815, had simply twelve lines devoted to all information about New South Wales; the rest consisted of advertisements and English news. Possibly the editor had no reporter, and was too busy with the type and money collecting to gather news himself. The *Gazette* of January 10th, 1818, had but two lines of ship news, and four of market prices, the columns being required for advertisements and extracts. No local news came next week. Fortunately for the enthusiastic colonists, the week after brought intelligence of two good murders, and a correspondent's letter about the tire of wheels. In April, two blank pages appear, concerning which accident no explanation is offered in the following issue.

A grand development came at last. On January 1st, 1824, we have a demy of four pages, five columns each! The paper, ink, and type, were still execrable.

The self-complacent editor afterwards alluded to the astonishment of the *Hobart Town Gazette*, saying, "Our brother typo in the sister colony inquires how we manage to get such a *monster* out weekly, meaning our paper."

This is the New Year's address:—

"The *Sydney Gazette* appears in a costume this week entirely new. Regardless of the potent undertaking, we are at length impelled to dash forward into the true British style,—its present unassuming though majestic extension. Could the thought have arisen that it was ever likely the *Sydney Gazette* should shrink into its once contractedness of sentiment, or that the unhallowed influences of guilt should quench the purity of its growing freedom—averse, indeed, should we have been to decorate it with the habiliments that adorn, and render illustrious, the journals of envied and greatly blessed Albion. Religion and all connected with her mild and steadily conquering sway shall still continue entitled to superior consideration."

SORROWS OF THE FIRST AUSTRALIAN PRINTER.

MUCH has been written and sung of the trials and griefs of first discoverers, first inventors, and original shareholders. But the sorrows of the earliest printer of Sydney should surely awaken the interest of

brother craftsmen, and enlist the sympathies of brother editors as well. Bound at once to furnish matter and material, to handle type and pen, he had even greater tasks to attempt, in procuring paper, and collecting subscriptions.

In the record of Mr. George Howe's death, May 11th, 1821, his son and successor states some of his father's difficulties. Born on the island of St. Kitts, West Indies, a printer on a London paper, George Howe found himself in Sydney in 1800. Three years after, under Government sanction, and with some Government aid, for he afterwards received a salary of £60, the *Gazette* was established; or, as his son describes it, "was founded *pro bono publico* in adversity; and carried on, for the first seven years, under that goading penury, from which, when nearly spent, it at length emerged by the providential intervention of his majesty's present Government."

The printer had brought up his son to the trade from the age of nine years. "And ever since," said Robert Howe, "that early period to the present day, comprising no less a space than seventeen years, the present printer has been employed, under his universally respected parent, in the service of the British government, and of the Australian public; he is not yet twenty-six. Will the public reject so old, and it is hoped, so faithful a servant?"

The troubles of the first printer were no slight ones. The apology presented after some years'

struggle, when complaint had been made, runs thus: "But every one aware of the present contractedness of the typographical machinery, will at once be satisfied that the utmost is done. Modesty is our best attire; but we cannot help saying, as opportunity now favours, that it is the *means* we are deficient in and not exactly *ability*." This modest avowal had much truth in it.

The one great difficulty was paper. It was the time of war. War prices prevailed. War risks increased the value of all exports. Communication between England and her colony was very irregular, and often after long intervals. Many articles ran out altogether, and others fetched famine prices. The poor printer shared in these vicissitudes, and suffered from the delays.

The unfortunate man thus addressed his constituency on August 31st, 1806: "As we have no certainty of an immediate supply of paper, we cannot promise a publication next week." On September 7th, he cries: "Under the assurance of a further temporary supply of paper, we have been enabled to provide an exact sufficiency for this scanty publication." There were but two pages of foolscap consumed. A glance at the paper the printer had to use would satisfy any one as to the scarcity of the article. Varied in colour, texture, size, and material, the paper was quite Protean in its appearance. It was under these circumstances, lasting many years, that ladies, going to the grocery store, would provide against the want

of shop paper by putting the tea at one end of a stocking, and the sugar at the other.

After a suspension of some weeks, there is this announcement on June 7th, 1807:—

"Regretting the necessity which rendered the suspension of this publication unavoidable, we have used every exertion as speedily as possible to resume our labours, and a small unexpected supply of paper enables us once more to court the attention of our readers. We have frequently been reduced to the necessity of varying the size, shape, and very colour of the paper; and probably none of the transitions that have marked our progress here, have been more observable than in the present instance." We are then informed that "quarto letter paper retails at the present moment at the enormous rate of six, seven, and even eight shillings per quire." The charges are thus mentioned: "Terms, three shillings upon the delivery of every fourth paper."

A suspension took place between August 30th, 1807, and May 15th, 1808. We have, therefore, no newspaper record of the Great Rebellion of New South Wales, the seizure and confinement of the Governor, and the ultimate exile of Admiral Bligh. The paper question is again quoted on the renewal of the *Gazette*.

"We have once more," says the editor, "the satisfaction of rendering our services to the public. We have had repeatedly to lament the necessity of vieing with the chameleon its change of colour, and of being

compelled to rival the prophetic son of Oceanus, in the frequency of change that has been given to our shape. To Necessity we cannot dictate. As servants of the public, exertion is our duty, and commendation our hoped reward. A supply of paper guarantees the promise of a continuance of this publication, until other arrivals may take its place; and should our adverse destinies to any great length of time protract so desirable an event, we hope, nevertheless, in all the lively tints in which the Chinese favour us, to prosecute our labours, until relenting fate should put an end to our vicissitudes. This paper is printed upon a half sheet of demy, the pages (2) made up to the very extent of our press."

This composition was so beyond the editorial capacity, that some learned convict clerk must have brought his classical ability to the rescue of the printer.

In the early days, trade to India and China furnished the colonists with many manufactured goods, besides paper. Another allusion, at a subsequent date of several years, is made to the rice material. "We are reduced," groans the editor, "to the necessity of printing the *Gazette* on China paper. Of all evils this is one of those most wished to be avoided, more particularly as it increases our labours twofold." It could only be printed on one side.

As late as 1823, two difficulties are mentioned. One relates to type. Year after year a better letter was hoped for and promised. It was always coming, but its absence perpetually apologised for. At last came forth

the joyous cry, "The type has arrived." The week after, August 21st, 1823, is this unhappy announcement of an annoying mistake on the part of the shippers: "The new type has reached us,—but we lament to say it is of small utility, being from its minuteness, nearly imperceptible to the eye." There was no desire on the part of the public to have a diamond edition of the *Gazette*; and had there been, the printer would have objected to the trouble of *picking up*.

Just before the last date, the paper was really in a most miserable plight. The paper was bad enough, the type was in the very last stage of decrepitude, but the ink was so utterly bad as to make the number absolutely illegible. The proprietor, ever struggling with difficulties, tries to soothe the perturbed feelings of his subscribers on the following publication day:—

"We have to apologise for the illegibility of last week's *Gazette*. Many of them were scarcely readable; and this was a fault that appeared without remedy, in consequence of two failures having occurred in making experiments upon manufacturing ink. It is one of the most difficult and disagreeable tasks that possibly can devolve to the printer of a paper, to make his own ink. About three months since, some was turned out of hand pretty fair; since which two attempts have been made, and both fruitless, though laborious and expensive."

But it is time to turn to another and more vulgar trial. This is one from which modern proprietors of papers are not yet wholly free, and for which no ade-

quate provision can be made. It is a commercial one. It is the old-fashioned worry of *accounts*. It is one thing to print; it is another to get paid for the printing. It is easier to instruct the public than procure the payment for lessons given. Every man knows the frailty of his own times in this respect; but it is sad to recognise the antiquity of the anti-paying-the-printer system. There cannot be furnished to that worthy labourer a more convincing evidence of the depravity of, at least, a portion of his species.

In a review of the past, published on Christmas Day, 1819, Mr. Howe refers to his older trials. Speaking in the third person, he says, "He bought the paper at a very dear price; he distributed his type; he invented and obtained new matter, without any auxiliary assistance; he worked the paper off at press; and he afterwards carried it out, that is to say, delivered it to the Sydney subscribers. A paper in England, under seven hundred in number, is sensibly a losing concern: and what must be a paper within half the number, and half of that unpaid for?" Could the proprietor of the *Times*, speak of such an experience as this?

As early as April 14th, 1805, the complaint is raised. The subscribers are urged to pay up their long arrears. The price is only sixpence, and the necessity is great, from "the very extravagant price of paper." The appeal is a moving one. The payment may be be made in copper coin, grain, or bills.

The dunning subscribers got in those days was a caution, or ought to have been so. Again and again were protests entered, and again and again were really pathetic appeals sent forth. They were assured that payments in wheat would be "most thankfully received." On December 28th, 1806, we read, "G. Howe, dreading the necessity of a peregrination through the extensive Hawkesbury Settlement, is nevertheless compelled to form a resolution of once more encountering the fatigues certain upon so distressing a journey, under a hope, that persons in arrears of subscriptions will liquidate their accounts."

And the poor fellow had to trudge on foot, from homestead to homestead, many a weary mile, and collect his hard-earned cash. As this was to a large extent paid in copper coinage, the *swag* must have been burdensome enough under the midsummer sun, and while toiling in the teeth of a burning, dusty *Brickfielder*. He had to run the risk of snakes, bushrangers, and other vermin of the pathless woods.

Harassed beyond all endurance at last, and fairly wrought to fever heat, the editor declared on the day before Christmas in 1809, that he certainly would and must stop the paper. He could not carry on any longer, for his credit was gone along with his subscribers' arrears.

The Governor now came humanely and authoritatively to the rescue. After some declaration about the reception of grain from the debtors, he is pleased to say:—

"As it is His Honour's wish to strengthen as much as possible the prospect of its uninterrupted continuance, he is further pleased to recommend punctuality in the discharge of subscriptions, &c., without which the publisher must always be exposed to inconvenience, against which he has been under the necessity of complaining that his circumstances are unable to contend.

By command of His Honour the Lieut.-Governor,

JAMES FINACANE, *Secretary.*"

It is something to have the interposition of Government on behalf of one's collection of debts.

One last appeal must be added for its pathos. "In England," says the writer, in March, 1819, "newspapers are paid for before they quit the office; and here we are told, after years of patient forbearance, that the account shall be liquidated, when the person to whom presented shall *think proper to pay!* Now, generous subscribers, do not let your faithful publisher take his whity-brown locks with sorrow to the grave, when it is so happily in your power to pay the servant who is ever at your service. *N.B.*—The year's accounts are furnished."

LIFE AND DEATH OF SYDNEY LITERATURE.

THE uncertainty and instability of human affairs may be strikingly observed in the rise and progress of the press in any part of the world. A newspaper is

established to serve a specific political purpose, to set a literary man on his legs, to vindicate personal character, to assault a party, to develop an opinion, to support a cause, to supply a proposed want. It may flourish because of ability in its leaders, required information in its columns, business tact in its management, or successful advocacy of a policy. It dies from the want of these qualities, or from the very nature of things to grow old and decay.

As colonial experience is not different from the British, a few Sydney illustrations are given.

The *Sydney Gazette* began, as the first of Australian papers, in 1803, and lived to 1843. The *Monitor* lasted from 1826 to 1842; *Bent's News*, from 1837 to 1839; *Duncan's Weekly Register*, 1843 to 1846; *Shipping Gazette*, 1843 to 1860; *Heads of the People*, 1847 to 1849; *People's Advocate*, 1848 to 1853. A large number lived but through an existence of a few numbers; as,—*The Times*, *Gleaner*, *Currency Lad*, *Alfred*, *Express*, *Standard*, *Omnibus*, *Sun*, *Satirist*, *Sentinel*, *Southern Queen*, *Despatch*, *Courier*, *Witness*, *Record*, *Mail*, *Southern Cross*, *Cornstalk*, *Index*, *Sydney Times*, etc.

The *Sydney Morning Herald* commenced in 1831, as a small four-paged weekly paper. It was bi-weekly in 1836, and daily in 1841. The word *Morning* was added in 1842. The *Sydney Empire* commenced in 1850; the *Press*, in 1851; *Courier* in 1852; *Government Gazette*, in 1832; *Colonist*, in 1835: *Chronicle*, in 1839; *Atlas*, in 1844; *Bell's Life*, in

1845; *Examiner*, in 1845; *Freeman's Journal*, in 1850; *Illustrated News*, in 1853; and *Punch* in 1856.

THE GREAT REBELLION IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

THE plot of the story of the rebellion may be briefly unfolded.

The colony of New South Wales, in 1808, contained a population of four thousand persons, free and bond, besides four hundred military. Uneasy symptoms of revolt had appeared before, owing to the assumed misrule of Governor Bligh, of ancient *Bounty* renown.

On the 26th of January, 1808, the soldiers under the command of Major Johnstone, marched up to Government House, seized the person of the Governor, and placed him under arrest. They professed to do this to avoid a bloody revolution in the colony.

After a time Captain Bligh declared his willingness to go to England, and was suffered to leave. Instead of returning to Europe, he remained about the coasts of Australia for another year. A Provisional Government was established under a Lieut.-Governor. Two years did the interregnum last, until the arrival of Governor-General Macquarie, appointed from home. Major Johnstone submitted to a trial in London before a military court. Although cashiered for

mutiny, the sympathy of many went with him in his retirement to New South Wales again.

As the writer's object is simply to tell the story as furnished by colonial authorities, by way of illustrating the politics of the past, attention will be directed to various subjects connected with it.

Those who were opposed to Commodore Bligh were not wanting in facts and arguments to sustain their cause.

The *Bounty* tragedy was remembered. In our own day, after many years, we are reminded of that same event in the presence of the Pitcairn islanders. These are settled on Norfolk Island, under the Governor of New South Wales. Descendants of the mutineers of the *Bounty*, they are, singularly enough, placed under the protection of that colony which sixty years ago banished the oppressive tyrant of their fathers.

Captain Bligh's treatment of Mr. Christian, the leader of the mutiny, is thus alluded to by the historian of the French discovery voyage of 1802: "One of the officers of the *Pandora*, lately arrived at the Cape, assured us that Bligh behaved very ill to Christian, and that an abuse of authority on the side of the captain was the cause of all his subsequent misfortunes. Christian, though master of the vessel, had been maltreated according to Captain Bligh's orders, as if he had been a common sailor of the lowest rank. If this be the fact, Captain Bligh disguises the truth when he asserts that he always treated him with the greatest liberality."

The colonists believed in the truth of the story, after having experienced the tender mercies of their governor. His rival, Major Johnstone, did not neglect to remind the judges, on his trial in London, that the commodore had been before a court. "Tyranny and oppression," said he, "are the offences for which he has been tried, and for which on full proof he has been reprimanded and censured." He enlarged upon the topic, adding, that Captain Bligh had been guilty of "a tyranny which witnessed an extravagant mixture of system and caprice, and which perpetuated violence, displaying itself both in real injury and gross personal abuse; and crowned at last by an avowed intention to imprison and prosecute for high treason, or treasonable practices, several persons who had merely uttered words unpleasing to him."

This disagreeable peculiarity of the man was not directed to the low and vulgar, but to those nearer to his throne. The common people did not resent his roughness, and even sympathised with the strength of his language. His friends were neither numerous nor warm; his foes were both. There was a rude nobility in confining his violence to those who had some means of redress, or who were rarely subjected to such assaults.

His prejudices were uncommonly strong, and his manners were no more refined than his words. In the indulgence of the former he would frequently forget propriety in the latter. He cherished a pique against Mr. John Macarthur, one of the most prominent

and wealthy gentlemen in the country. Upon being informed that, having orders from the Secretary of State for a grant of land, Mr. Macarthur wished to be placed upon the location, the governor burst out with "D—— the Secretary of State! What do I care for him? He commands in England, and I command here."

He was charged by the colonists with having despotically ordered the removal of houses built upon land secured on lease from the Government, and with having also seized and appropriated land so secured. One of the parties thus injured gave evidence on the trial in London. Mr. Mann had erected a dwelling, at an outlay of four hundred pounds, upon a piece of land. Governor Bligh commanded him to remove it. Expostulating with his excellency, the gentleman ventured to assert his rights, as being based upon the authority of the laws of England. To this the quarter-deck ruler made reply: "D—— your laws of England! Don't talk to me of your laws of England. I will make laws for this colony, and every wretch of you ———— shall be governed by them; or there (pointing to the gaol) is your habitation."

To all free settlers, who arrived with capital for the employment of labour, and to whose advent the colonies are so much indebted, Captain Bligh seems to have cherished an unaccountable prejudice. According to the law of that period, any person going to New South Wales, with any means, received labour and land pro-

portioned to his capital which was ready for investment. To the Crown these gentlemen were of signal service, as every man taken by them into service would be so much relief in rations and clothing. But the governor forgot the interest of the State in the indulgence of personal spleen. When Mr. Blaxland entered the colony with a capital of £6000, he presented to his excellency the Secretary of State's warrant for 8000 acres of land, and the assignment of eighty convict servants. Captain Bligh declined in a most offensive manner to fulfil the engagement of his chief. This conduct exposed Mr. Blaxland to considerable annoyance and loss, and by no means increased the cordiality of the better class toward the administrator of affairs.

The tyrannical character of the man was illustrated in his mode of interference with trade and commerce. His orders affected the system of Exchange and that of Bill transactions. He prohibited certain established modes of barter, adapted to the condition of an infant colony. Notes of hand were declared illegal, and all payments were authoritatively commanded to be made in Sterling, instead of Colonial, currency. It was not the mere proclamation, but the way in which the personal rule was brought to bear, that particularly aroused the anger of commercial men.

His treatment of the settlers on Norfolk Island was in keeping with the rest of his autocracy. He required their immediate removal from that isle of beauty, and their transplantation to Van Diemen's

Land, where grants of land awaited them. The people earnestly besought mercy at the hand of the officer. Their pretty homes were there; their children were born there; and they loved the charming, fruitful island. Their expostulations were in vain. As the commander of H.M.S. *Porpoise* hesitated in this unpleasant business, Captain Bligh ordered him to return and force the colonists away; directing Lieutenant Kent to outlaw the discontented and unwilling, and even to shoot the refractory lovers of their homesteads.

The governor narrowly escaped an insurrection in June, 1807, though apparently from the convict portion of his subjects. As usual in such cases, an Irish spy betrayed his fellow exiles and countrymen. The two supposed traitors to the cause of freedom, Dominick McCurry and Daniel Grady, were duly rewarded by emancipation from all penal servitude. The official order informs the world that they discovered a plot of those who sought "to subvert the government of this colony, and meditated an attempt at massacre."

The commander had dealt harshly and unjustly, as was asserted, when he obtained a verdict from the Bench, fining those merchants of Sydney, Messrs. Simeon Lord, Keble, and Underwood, the sum of one hundred pounds each, in August, 1807. This was because they had addressed a letter of complaint to head-quarters, which was considered "couched in improper terms, and highly derogatory to His Excellency's high rank and authority."

Before, therefore, that the outbreak actually took place, great dissatisfaction existed in the colony: and even subscriptions were commenced to send Mr. Macarthur to England, to lay before His Majesty's ministers a statement of Captain Bligh's misrule. One fact is obvious in the history of the period, that with the exception of the provost marshal, an ex-convict clergyman, and one or two others, the governor had no friend among what is called the respectable class.

When, moreover, it was known that he had intended, just before the rebellion, to imprison the jury of six officers who had not been subservient to his will, leaving the little army of New South Wales to the sole official charge of one person—the major,—indignation against his tyranny reached its culminating point, and produced the act of insurrection against his authority.

Lieutenant-Governor Foveaux, who subsequently took charge of the government in Sydney, evidently had some sympathy with the so-called rebels. In his letter of August 6th, 1808, addressed to Lieutenant-Governor Paterson, of Port Dalrymple, who subsequently replaced him in office, he wrote thus:—

"It appears that Captain Bligh has been principally advised by George Crossley, Messrs. Campbell, Palmer, and Fulton; and it is generally believed that they intended to have established a monopoly of the public stores and revenues of the colony, at the expense of the interests of the Government, as well as of

every individual not connected with themselves; and in the prosecution of their plans they have gone such lengths, by violating private property, and infringing personal liberty, as to occasion universal terror amongst all classes of people, from the highest to the most obscure. And this apprehension still prevails to such a degree, that I saw no choice left me but to maintain the government in the way I found it, until I shall either be relieved by your arrival, or shall receive orders of the king's ministers."

The sympathies of the next acting-governor, Mr. Paterson, were clearly expressed in favour of the malcontents. The lieutenant-governor of Hobart Town also took the same side in relation to the deposed governor.

Lieutenant-Governor Paterson's opinion was freely expressed to Lord Castlereagh, on March 13th, 1809:—

"Truth," said he, "behoves me to say, it appears to me, on the most unprejudiced inquiry, that the whole measures of the late governor were so speciously arranged, that under the semblance of being totally absorbed in intentions to advance the prosperity of the settlement, and contribute to the welfare and happiness of the individuals composing it, he bore the most rancorous ill-will to any officer and inhabitant who he conceived could possibly, in the remotest manner, interfere with a matured plan of exercising the high command with which he was honoured, in the purposes of gratifying his insatiably tyrannic disposition, and of advancing his pecuniary interest.

So impressed were the inhabitants with a dread of the evils they saw gathering to overwhelm them, that it is painful at this period to contemplate the consequences which might have followed the continuation of his power."

Reversing the shield, we would now examine the evidence in favour of the governor's judgment and action.

Captain Bligh landed in New South Wales in August, 1806, eighteen years after the first settlement of the country. He was accompanied by Lieutenant Putland, who had married his daughter, and who acted as his aide-de-camp. The fair lady, much more popular than her father, remained some years after his forced expulsion. Becoming a widow, she eventually attracted the regard of Lieutenant-Colonel O'Connell, of the 73rd Regiment, and became his wife. The marriage, however, did not take place till after Captain Bligh had fairly left Port Jackson. The poet laureate of the day immortalized the event in a shower of lines. A few only will serve as a witness to colonial poetic fire. The Sydneyites were supposed to fill up the spaces :—

"To P-T-D, amiable and fair,
Soft as her manners pour the warbled lay;
Another——bolder strain prepare,
For brave O'C-N-L on his nuptial day!
In Australasia's genial clime proclaim,
That Love and Valour blend their spotless flame."

The new governor may have been received with

some distrust. Busy tongues were ready with the story of the recent investigation into his conduct in relation to the *Bounty*. Some doubted the propriety of such an appointment to such a place. But there were, at the same time, recommendations of the policy of the home officials. The colony had been very loosely governed, and a stern disciplinarian might be in favour. Certain disorders, arising from the peculiarity of the social circumstances of the place, would be checked by a firm front.

Whatever could be said against him, it was well known that he was a brave man, a courageous officer. This was no mean commendation in a time when Englishmen were engaged in a war which threatened their very existence as a free nation. He had been twenty years in the service; he had accompanied Captain Cook in one of his memorable voyages; he had fought under Admiral Parker and Lord Howe, and had stood the fire of Copenhagen with Nelson. Moreover, in spite of his assumed indiscretion and even tyranny on board the *Bounty*, his bitterest foes could not but admire his heroism in the open-boat voyage across the Pacific. He was, therefore, received well, and mainly on account of that valorous demeanour which ever finds acceptance in the eyes of Britons.

Soon after his arrival he made a progress through his dominions. His keen discernment detected malpractices, and his experience exposed defects of government. One thing particularly struck him: there were two classes in the settlement,—the free

and bond. The former, consisting chiefly of officials and emigrants, was opposed in interests and feelings to the prisoner class. From the ranks of the latter there were emerging many who had fulfilled the penalty of the law, and were prepared to exercise the duties of freemen, under the appellation of *Emancipists*. In Governor Macquarie's time these persons made themselves felt in the state. The shield of authority was thrown over them; they were encouraged, and even petted. With command of money, for the land of primitive settlers greatly rose in value, they influenced the very decrees of Government. To such extent was the emancipist era developed, that the swing of the political pendulum was quite necessary for correction. It was fitting and right that the sins of the fathers should not be visited upon the child, and equally just that the expiated offences of the man should present no insuperable bar to his advancement, and the enjoyment of his privileges as a citizen. But it was another thing to claim, as many of them did, that the land was their own, and that the advent of men and women, free by birth, was a trespass upon their exclusive rights. The Emancipist party demanded too much, and suffered in consequence. It is a matter of congratulation that since the disuse of transportation to New South Wales and Tasmania the old rivalry has gradually died out, and men without that old exclusiveness can now shake hands as brethren.

It was different in 1807. The Emancipists were

comparatively few, feeble, and poor. In the days of *good* old George the Third the strong oppressed the weak; and the harshness, and even injustice, with which the man freed by servitude was often treated, excited no compassion then. In various ways they were made to feel their belonging to the Helot tribe. Government officials conducted themselves towards them with disdain, and the free emigrants showed them too plainly their social infirmity.

To make matters worse, not only were the principal Government appointments monopolized by the party opposed to Emancipists, but the avenues to commerce were almost closed by them against the rising freemen. Especially was this observable in the principal article of trade, and the recognised currency of the epoch—*strong drink!* Nominally, the governor claimed the sole control of all imports, but absolutely, the leading officers and merchants possessed the advantage. This gave them the monopoly of this profitable article of exchange; and they used this privilege to the filling of their own pockets, and the flooding of the colony with vice and misery.

Upon Captain Bligh's coming, these facts became apparent. Others might have seen the same, yet feared to encounter the risk and danger of a contest with the evil. He passed through the country parts, and beheld a half-clad, ignorant, and almost savage people. He saw them farming magnificent land, yet living in squalor, filth, and neglect. The main causes were brought before him. He recognised one in the

desolation of drink, and the other in the monopoly of trade by a few Sydney dealers, and those in most cases connected with Government.

At the trial in London, Commodore Bligh made this statement of the condition of things he found in 1806:—"Although Sydney formed some exception to the general aspect, yet there the inhabitants and public storehouses were falling into decay; industry was declining; while a pernicious fondness for spirituous liquors was gaining ground, to the destruction of public morals and private happiness. The officers were very much interested in the barter of spirits; so much so, as to be enabled to get whatever they wanted at a cheap rate."

His reforms were doubtless well meant. He did not interfere with commerce with a view to obtain a transference of the monopoly to himself and friends. He may honestly have desired to remove the burdens off the shoulders of the poor convict and emancipist. With this view, on February 14th, 1807, he issued an order positively forbidding the exchange of spirits for food. The Hawkesbury district was then the chief seat of agriculture, and the home of penury; the inhabitants piteously held up their hands for relief. His reply was, "Shut up the grogshops." He made no suggestions about their electing deputies who might frame a Maine Law Bill, nor did he entertain the project of a two-thirds majority in *Permissive* enactment. He assumed the dictator. The drink should not be sold there; and it was not.

This was, doubtless, looked upon as a great hardship by the dealers in Sydney, for the Hawkesbury folk had been their best customers. Many of the settlers in the district also felt it a great hardship. But during the few months the law was in force, rags gave place mysteriously to good clothing, crime almost disappeared, and more land was brought into better cultivation.

Still the autocratic way in which the law was promulgated was objectionable; while many denied the benevolence of the act, and regarded it as a measure to injure the men against whom he had an antipathy. It was remarked, jealously as the law was guarded against infringement, that his own personal friends were enabled to sell grog with impunity. When, also, his steward was caught, and subjected to the £100 fine, His Excellency remitted the punishment.

The stoppage of distillation was proclaimed, because of the folly of destroying wholesome food for strong drink in a country where famines were frequent, and where drink was a curse.

Anyhow, Captain Bligh's action at the commencement of his reign was felt to be favourable to the prisoner class. He was, doubtless, quite correct in saying that if he had had an opportunity of escape to the country settlements he would have been well supported. He was said to have stopped the practice of flogging servants without a magisterial warrant. Years after that party gratefully recognised his services, and appreciated his advocacy of their claims.

The *Sydney Gazette* of November, 1825, when under Emancipist direction, went over that past chapter of colonial history, and lauded the conduct of Captain Bligh, the antagonist of the *Exclusionists*, so called.

Here is a quotation from that article, which was made to bear upon the politics of 1825:—

"When Governor Bligh came into power he found only two classes in the colony: the high, and then imperious, emigrants, and the prisoner population, a few of whom only were then free, and from amongst whom has arisen the present Emancipist body. Governor King's successor (Bligh) had particular instructions from His Majesty's Ministers, whose views have ever been merciful, just, and liberal (!) to the colony, to raise a third or middle class in our society, which the Ministry did not see would end in consequences subversive of legitimate authority; but the contemplation even of introducing so wise and beneficent a measure could not be followed up by less than insulting in the face of the world, the monarch himself, in degrading the person of his representative; a fair sample this of the present high emigrant school, who could resort to similar anti-constitutional measures, but for the efficiency, respectability, and loyalty of that order of men who, amalgamated with the liberal and sober-minded emigrants, will ever continue invincible on behalf of the 'powers that be.'"

This celebrated leader gives the reader an insight into the politics of the period. The Emancipist class,

whose claims were advocated by the paper, were represented as being excessively loyal, and as very grateful for the just and liberal measures of ministers like those of Castlereagh and Sidmouth. The men who always opposed reform, who consistently maintained abuses, who kept Roman Catholics and Protestant Dissenters under cruel disabilities, who rode down and sabred unarmed Englishmen at a political meeting, and who deprived colonists of trial by jury, were the rulers the *Sydney Gazette* was so prepared to honour and obey. As at that very time a zealous and benevolent Roman Catholic priest, Father Thierry, was suffering from a most unjustifiable tyranny on the part of the local Government, and as the "ever merciful, just, and liberal" Ministers, in spite of all appeals, would not permit Catholic children in the Sydney Orphan School to receive other than Protestant teaching, the complacent loyalty of the *Gazette* is the more astonishing.

It was to the persistent course of the emigrant class, their heroic stand against oppression, their readiness to suffer the penalty of resisting tyranny, and their chivalrous advocacy of the claims of despised Emancipists themselves, that the colonies were indebted for liberty of the press, trial by jury, and constitutional self-government.

The sympathies of the *Sydney Gazette* were in the same direction in 1835. But then the Rev. Dr. Lang, the advocate of the emigrant class, was carrying on a war with that paper in his *Colonist*. He was shocked

at the demoralization of the press of New South Wales, its base sycophancy to authority, and its low moral tone. The *Gazette* of October 8th, 1835, reviled the opponents of Captain Bligh in such terms as these:—"The rebel, the stay-making and grog-selling asses;" "the craven-hearted rebels;" "the public thieves;" "wretches of no mind," who ruled "with fear that generates cruelty, with an ignorance that produces the most grotesque parody on law and justice." The editor expressed a mild sentiment when, speaking of the arrival of General Macquarie, he exclaimed, "We cannot see why he did not hang the whole pack."

Pleasant images rose before the mental vision of the writer in connection with the hanging thought. "The aristocracy, as they were then called," said he, "would have dangled nobly as skeletons on the fort; their bleached and rattling bones would have taught the virtue of constitutional obedience to some of those petty mushrooms, who have since drunk a sort of libellous infection from the impunity with which their ancestors and others were allowed to escape the halter."

It is by reading such a sentence that the present generation can form an estimate of the contending elements in the early social condition of the colony.

As *non-jurors* remained faithful to the Stuarts till the reign of our Queen's grandfather, as Bomba has many adherents in Naples, and as Lopez was attended in his flight, so Captain Bligh was not left without some who were ever ready to suffer for his sake.

On the 11th of December, 1808, during the provisional rule of Lieutenant-Governor Foveaux, Mr. George Sutter was brought to trial for sending a letter to the acting governor, which was calculated to bring him into contempt. The high-spirited defender of constitutional order, so called, was by no means overawed by the solemnities of justice. "I deny the legality of this court," said he: "you may do with myself as you please. My unfortunate wife and family I leave to the mercy of God, until peace shall be restored in the colony." He declined to plead "guilty," or "not guilty," declaring "My allegiance is due to Governor Bligh, and to Governor Bligh alone; and every drop of blood within my veins prevents me from ever acknowledging the legality of this court." This bold defier was sentenced to pay a fine of one shilling, and be imprisoned for six months. His courage deserved a better fate.

Others were not wanting to defend the governor's policy. Just *before* the rebellion in January, 1808, an address was sent him from the Hawkesbury district, signed by 833 persons. In this they wish, they say, "to return our grateful thanks for the unbounded attention, labour, and pains your Excellency, in your great wisdom, has ever manifested toward us, and the general welfare and prosperity of this extended colony at large, in the dreadful crisis of general calamity in which you found it." That alludes to two disastrous floods which destroyed the crops of the district. The particular secret of the attachment

of these country settlers did not arise from his rum crusade, his attempt to make them sober under protest, but from his protection principles. These independent admirers of the governor praised him for favouring their fields. He had engaged to obstruct the importation of grain, so that high prices could be realized for Hawkesbury produce. In this address the farmers assure Captain Bligh that they have no doubt of their acres yielding "more than abundantly sufficient for the fullest support of the whole territory."

It must surprise no one to find the governor, when under arrest, contemplating a trip to Hawkesbury, if possible; "where," said he, "I am sure the people would flock to my standard, and give all their aid in defending me."

But Major Johnstone had something to say on his trial respecting this celebrated address. It was not free from the infirmities characterizing similar documents in our own day. In that same January, and not many days after, an address was got up in the district for the man who had deposed the governor. It was to thank him for getting rid of the tyranny under which that place, as well as the rest of New South Wales, had groaned. Amongst the hundreds of signatures appeared the names of four of Captain Bligh's principal friends. One passage in the second address explains this anomalous circumstance.

"Anxious for the welfare of our families," say the memorialists, "and to avert those calamities which would, we fear, have inevitably attended those per-

sons who might have refused to sign the recent address (to Captain Bligh), many of us therein reluctantly praised those proceedings which in our hearts we could but condemn."

Although a very bad feeling had for a long time existed between the governor and some of the inhabitants, that which furnished the immediate occasion of the outbreak was the trial of Mr. John Macarthur.

This gentleman came out to the colony, in 1789, in an official capacity, but devoted himself to farming in 1793, and to trade afterwards. Between himself and the judge advocate, Mr. Atkins, a feud had existed for a dozen years. Between Governor Bligh and himself a similar ill-feeling was established. A vessel of his was carrying goods to Tahiti, when a convict secreted himself on board and escaped from servitude. The bond, always entered into by owners of ships, was declared forfeited, and the penalty of £900 was ordered. Mr. Macarthur refused to pay, as he was ignorant of the concealment. Constables seized the vessel, and the owner abandoned his claim on the crew. The sailors came on shore to complain. Mr. Macarthur was summoned by the judge advocate to attend his court, but by letter refused. This was treated as contempt, and force was employed to bring him to the office, where he was committed for trial, though admitted to bail.

The trial came on. It was the 25th of January, 1808. A great excitement prevailed in town. The judge advocate, Mr. Atkins, was both prosecutor

and judge. Unacquainted with much law himself, (for the judge, in early colonial days, was not a lawyer, but more often a military officer), he relied upon the legal direction of an attorney who had been transported for perjury, and who was one of the principal counsellors of His Excellency.

Upon the reading of the indictment, Mr. Macarthur violently attacked the judge advocate as unfit to try his case. He addressed himself to the six officers forming the court. These were Capt. Anthony Fenn Kemp, Lieut. J. Brabyn, Lieut. W. Moore, Lieut. T. Laycock, Lieut. W. Minchin, and Lieut. W. Lawson.

After speaking of the rejection of his appeal to His Excellency for another judge, not personally opposed to himself, he protested against the trial for several reasons. A suit about money was pending between the two. An enmity of years had existed. Mr. Atkins had been long associated with the "dismembered limb of the law" for his ruin. The judge was his intended prosecutor, and he had already pronounced against him. Mr. Macarthur then claimed the protection of a military guard.

The six officers admitted the justice of the plea and respectfully requested the governor to appoint another judge advocate for the present trial. His Excellency refused. The officers then declined to sit with Mr. Atkins on the trial, and complained to Capt. Bligh of the violation of the law by the judge advocate. The governor then sent for the papers in their possession. These were refused, until another

judge advocate should be appointed. The next morning, 26th inst., they memorialized the governor, especially as Mr. Macarthur had been seized and imprisoned while out on bail, upon an order signed by Mr. Atkins and three magistrates. The judge advocate now accused the six officers of crimes "tending to incite and create rebellion." In consequence of this complaint, the governor addressed a summons to each of the six, requiring their presence at Government House to answer to the charge.

A letter was despatched by Captain Bligh to Major Johnstone, then residing out of town, requesting his attendance in Sydney.

When that officer arrived, in the afternoon of the 26th inst., he was surrounded by angry officers, who represented that intelligence was gained of the governor's intention to seize the six military jury, and arraign them for treasonable language and acts. It has never been proved that Captain Bligh had resolved upon this seizure of their persons, but the rumour of it, at least, led to the seizure of himself.

Major Johnstone consented to assume the Government. This he could easily do, as the military were subject to his command, as well as favourable to the project, and the police were almost all of the prisoner class. An order was given for the release of Mr. Macarthur from gaol. Then, through that gentleman's efforts, a few names were appended to a memorial praying that Major Johnston would depose the governor, and save the colony.

Before the arrest of His Excellency, the officer in command sent the following letter:—

"HEAD QUARTERS, *January 26th*, 1808.

"SIR,—I am called upon to execute a most painful duty. You are charged by the respectable inhabitants with crimes that render you unfit to exercise the supreme authority another moment in this colony, and in that charge all the officers serving under my command have joined.

"I therefore require you, in His Majesty's sacred name, to resign your authority, and to submit to the arrest which I hereby place you under, by the advice of all my officers, and by the advice of every respectable inhabitant in the town of Sydney.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"GEORGE JOHNSTONE,

"Acting Lieut.-Governor, and Major commanding New South Wales Corps.

"To WILLIAM BLIGH, Esq., F.R.S, etc., etc."

Instead of a fancy sketch of the *arrest* of Captain Bligh, the citation of authorities on the spot at the time will give a more faithful picture.

The ex-governor gave his version at the trial in 1811. When he heard of the approach of the armed party, and conjectured the object of their march, he proceeded to a hurried examination of his papers. He then said, "I tore up great numbers of them, and a vast amount of pieces were picked up by John

Dunn, my servant, and afterwards burnt. During this time, the troops were running all over the house. The room I was in was at the back part of the house. They had rummaged everywhere except this room."

They came. "No," said one, "the Governor is not here." He heard Sergeant Whittle declare with an oath that he would find him. And so he did. Captain Bligh admitted his state of mind, saying, "I was then a little confused.". He put his hand to his breast to feel if his papers were there in safety. A soldier, suspecting he was preparing to draw out a pistol, presented his bayonet, and exclaimed, "If you don't take your hand out of there, I'll whip this into you immediately." The captain cried out aloud, "Keep the man off, I have no arms." He was then brought down stairs. "The troops," said he, "were stationed all round the walls, just like a Robespierrian party or a revolutionary tribunal."

Having demanded his secretary, Mr. Griffin, he was told that it was not agreeable to the inhabitants. He was left, therefore, with his daughter and Mrs. Palmer, and allowed to walk out under the surveillance of sentinels. "We were insulted, and treated in the most cruel manner," observed the captain.

Further particulars are given by one of the governor's friends, in a communication nearly eighteen years after, being published in the *Sydney Gazette* of November 24th, 1825.

"We shall never forget," said the writer, belonging to the Emancipist party, "the evening and night

of the ever memorable 26th January, 1808. We perfectly recollect the marching of our then little army from the barracks of the New South Wales corps up to Government House, in the front and rear of which the troops were all drawn up, under the orders of the lamented and misled Colonel Johnstone. We were in the midst of the search made after the unfortunate governor, and were obliged to give admittance to Lieutenant Laycock to the little printing-office, which was in those antique times attached as an appendage to Government House. The lieutenant, after examining the loft, in descending from which he had nearly dislocated the principal joints in his body, discovered that no governor was there; and shortly after, his unfortunate Excellency (the representative of Majesty) was found beneath a bed upstairs, to which he had flown for refuge from those adversaries who have ever since continued the enemies of good government. The day following, the 27th, was a day of immense business. The governor was formally deposed, bonfires were lighted up at the corners of almost every street, magistrates were dismissed, the provost-marshal escorted to prison, the then sitting criminal court dissolved, troops were harangued in the Bonapartian style, the old judge advocate relieved of his offices, transparencies quite "the go," every house obliged to illuminate; and to sum up the whole, a secretary to the colony, a man of some ability, was installed into office, which, however, was *unfor-*

tunately only enjoyed by this gentlemen for six months and three days—short-lived honour this! There was a superabundance of the usual *et ceterus* that fail not to characterize such revolutionary proceedings."

This lively sketch was supposed to have been written by Mr. Robert Howe, the first printer, and the father of the Australian press, whose sympathies were naturally leaning toward the so-called Emancipist party. The incidental reference to the little printing-office, to the rear of the Government House, is more interesting to many of us now, than the story of bonfires and Bonapartian harangues. The press then leaned upon officialdom for support, while being overawed by the continual presence of the power that could crush as well as patronize.

The third witness gave his version. He was Lieutenant Minchen, engaged in the search for the governor, and he related the following at the trial, in 1811:—

"He (Bligh) was in a small room upstairs, that appeared to me to be a servant's room. There was a small bedstead and some lumber on it. I was called toward that room, I believe, by the governor's secretary, Mr. Griffin. I think it was his voice. The governor was then standing up. There were two or three soldiers in the room; two, I recollect perfectly. His bosom was open, his shirt-frill out, and he appeared to me to be in the act of putting it into his waistcoat at the time I went into the room. From

his putting his hand to put the frill of his shirt in, one of the soldiers called out to me: 'Take care, he has got a pistol.' I then ordered the soldier away, and I said to the governor that I was extremely sorry he suffered himself to be found in that manner; that he had not come forward in the first instance to meet the officers. A corporal who was in the room, and who is now in the 73rd regiment, said as he was going out: 'We found him there, sir' (pointing under the bedstead). The fore part of his coat, the lappels, were full of dust, and the back part full of feathers. He appeared to be very much agitated; indeed, I never saw a man so much frightened in my life, in appearance. When I went into the room, he reached his hand to me, and asked me if I would protect his life. I assured him his life was not in danger."

Colonel Holt writes in his diary:—

"He retired and hid himself under one of the beds. Mrs. Putland, the governor's daughter, made fight, but was soon overcome, and the governor was pulled out from under a bed."

To understand the story, a few words must be said respecting the soldiers of the Rebellion.

The New South Wales corps arrived soon after the formation of the colony. It was not an ordinary regiment sent on foreign service, but of volunteers on a particular engagement. It became an institution

in the country. The men obtained many privileges there. They felt themselves bound up with the welfare of their supposed adopted home. Many got land, married, and became attached to the place. Others engaged in traffic, as well as performed their drill. Their officers, too, came with no alien feelings, and were loyally devoted to the new colony. In after years, more than one evinced a patriotic zeal, which awoke the slumberers to the call of freedom; they became leaders of opinion, and fathers of colonial liberty. One of them, Anthony Fenn Kemp, Esq., was for many years in the front of the conflict, and may be called the Hampden of Van Diemen's Land. He lived to see nearly eighty years of colonial rule, having died recently in Tasmania, at the age of ninety-six.

The reason why these soldiers took such interest in the contest with Governor Bligh, was not merely because they were angry at the treatment of their officers, but because, as Major Johnstone told his judges: "The soldiers are not at Sydney left in a state of separation from the people, but mix, marry, and live among them, and are in all respects identified with them." Although they incurred the displeasure of the Ministry, and were formed into the 102nd regiment of the line, to be ordered home, yet both Lieut.-Governor Paterson and Governor Macquarie praised them publicly for their conduct, and the people gave them lusty cheers at their departure in 1810.

In our own day, the press has justly claimed the credit of popular movements. Its agency has been the motive power of revolutions; and, therefore, despots of all countries have jealously watched its progress, and encompassed its path with difficulties.

In the Rebellion of New South Wales the press took no part. It said nothing before and nothing after the event. Singularly enough, from paper and type troubles, the *Sydney Gazette* made no appearance from August 30th, 1807, to May 15th, 1808; being silent from a date five months before the revolution, to nearly four months after that event. Even when the printer resumed his operations, no criticism upon local politics was given or expected. The movements of the Powers were chronicled in few words, and liberal praises given discreetly to everybody who happened to hold the reins of government. Subsisting upon the crumbs which fell from the Treasury, and existing only at the will of the administrator for the time being, the editor, printer, proprietor, may be pardoned his want of public spirit.

The governor was not placed in close confinement, though watched, to prevent his escape to the harbour. As the commanding officer, Major, afterwards Lieutenant-colonel, Johnstone, assumed the government upon the deposition of His Excellency, he immediately relieved the judge advocate of his duties, placed the provost marshal under restraint, and silenced the ministrations of Mr. Fulton, the ex-convict clerical friend of Captain Bligh.

As Mr. Johnstone wrote home by the first ship, and the home authorities permitted two years to elapse before apparently seeking to remedy the evil, or even holding any communication with Captain Bligh, the crime of the rebels could not have been regarded in England as an outrageous one. Addressing Lord Castlereagh, the major thus refers to Captain Bligh :—

"He has not only oppressed the colonists by the most unheard of means; but, in the execution of a plan to improve his own fortune, had sacrificed the interests of Government, by a wasteful expenditure of the public stores, and the most glaring appropriation of the live stock and labourers of the Crown to his own private purposes." Then he has a notice of the counsellors of His Excellency, "who had," said he, "spoken of a Mr. Fulton (a man whom I had known in Norfolk Island, in the condition of an emancipated convict) as his friend. And this circumstance strongly tended to confirm the information I had received, that the governor had been chiefly guided by persons of that class; in following their advice, it has been since proved to me, he had so violated private property and tyrannized over the colonists, that nothing but his removal from the government could have prevented an insurrection, with all its attendant miseries."

As it was afterwards stated that Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone had opposed Captain Bligh on account of his having interfered with the drink traffic, in which

some of the officers were engaged, that gentleman took the opportunity of the trial to say as follows: "When it was prohibited, I acquiesced in the prohibition without a struggle, and without a complaint. I knew and acknowledged that it was in the governor's province to amend this traffic. Governor Macquarie has re-established it; but that cause alone could not make the one governor hated or the other beloved."

In his communication with the nearest representative of His Majesty, Lieutenant-Governor Paterson, at Port Dalrymple, or Northern Tasmania, he expressed his readiness to resign his post of temporary command to him. He quoted from his despatch to Lord Castlereagh, to show the motives that had governed his conduct. As commander at sea, as well as governor, Captain Bligh had wished to be allowed to go on board H.M.S. *Porpoise*, then in Port Jackson. But Major Johnstone spoke of obstacles of the governor's own raising; "which have," wrote he, prevented his going on board the *Porpoise*."

But the lieutenant-governor of the Launceston quarter was in no hurry to assume the supreme command. He was pleased to acquit the revolutionary officer of any improper conduct, in taking the Sydney government; saying, in his reply to him, dated May 14th, 1808:—

"That your only temporarily holding the command until I shall take it did not depend upon your individual choice, but that it followed and became evident

from the very nature of the circumstance itself." He proceeds to intimate, "I shall wait until I have had further information as may correctly guide my conduct; and I have to request that you will, should you be still in command, by the earliest possible opportunity, place me in possession of the first intelligence you may receive from England."

He thus, as the next officer to Captain Bligh, practically sanctioned the course pursued in Sydney, as he did not attempt to displace the offender from his assumed position in New South Wales. More than this, he gave him a sort of testimonial in these words:—"The conduct you have pursued in the instance in question has arisen from an opinion of its propriety."

Again he said, "I am persuaded your experience in the service, your regard for the real interests of the territory, and your judgment in the steps consequent on the necessity of their support at so alarming a period, could not have been exceeded by any efforts of mine; yet it did, and does yet appear to me, that no option was left to either of us."

In the meantime, the lieutenant-governor of the partially deserted colony of Norfolk Island arrived in Sydney. Major Johnstone at once resigned the command to him. It was immediately upon the arrival of Lieutenant-Colonel Foveaux that the deposed governor wrote this statement of his case, July 29th, 1808:—

"Having been unwarrantably confined, and my go-

vernment wrested and taken out of my hands on the 26th of January last, when the colony was in a most tranquil and high state of improvement, I yesterday sent, in order to state the same for your information, Mr. Griffin, my secretary, Mr. Commissary Palmer, and the Rev. Mr. Fulton, to wait upon you. As they were refused by the master of the ship (Colonel Foveaux being then on board the *Lady Sinclair*, in Port Jackson) to be admitted on board, and having heard that Major Johnstone, Mr. John Macarthur, and other persons were afterwards admitted, I now send them again to represent my situation, and the opinion of the loyal people of this colony, and do hereby request that they may have permission to see you, and that you will use your utmost endeavours to reinstate me in my government as representative of our Most Gracious Majesty, and as Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief."

Apart from the well-known sentiments of the honourable passenger, the captain of the *Lady Sinclair* had too recently witnessed the sufferings of the colonists at Norfolk Island, and too heartily believed their representations of Captain Bligh's cruelty toward them, to be ready in any courtesy to a deputation from the deposed officer.

Colonel Foveaux, in reply, simply declined to interfere in the dispute between Captain Bligh and the inhabitants, as the case had already been referred to the Home Office. He added, "it only remains for me to adopt such measures as I deem to be most

effective for the preservation of the public tranquillity."

On the 30th of July, 1808, Lieutenant-Governor Foveaux issued his proclamation.

"As the Government of this colony," said he, "has been upwards of six months out of the hands of William Bligh, Esq., and as the circumstances attending his suspension have been fully submitted to His Majesty's ministers, who alone are competent to decide, Lieutenant-Governor Foveaux conceives it to be beyond his authority to judge between Captain Bligh and the officers whom he found in the actual command of the colony," etc.

A week after, he addressed the official and senior commander, at Port Dalrymple, upon the circumstances. "It appears," wrote he, on August 6th, "that Captain Bligh has been principally advised by George Crossley, Messrs. Campbell, Palmer and Fulton, and it is generally believed that they intended to have established a monopoly of the public stores and revenues of the colony, at the expense of the interests of Government, as well as of every individual unconnected with themselves, and in the prosecution of their plans they have gone such lengths, by violating private property, and infringing personal liberty, as to occasion universal terror amongst all classes of people from the highest to the most obscure. And this apprehension prevails to such a degree, that I saw no choice left me but to maintain the Government in the way I found it, until I shall either be

relieved by your arrival, or shall receive orders of His Majesty's ministers."

On August 4th, Captain Bligh distinctly wrote thus to the lieutenant-governor:—

"I will not enter into any conditions whatever, except returning to England immediately in the command of His Majesty's ship *Porpoise*, having my broad pennant, which it is at the peril of any one to tarnish or deprive me of. Major Johnstone closed all conditions and determinations of what was to be done with regard to the confinement I was put under, referring to Lieutenant-Governor Paterson, and next to yourself, to decide on the measures as soon as either might arrive."

The tone of this letter was not likely to enlist the favourable consideration of the newly arrived officer, who did not see his way clear to place the fiery governor in charge of his vessel, as he had much reasonable doubt about his "returning to England immediately." But four days after that demand came one for the papers that had been seized upon his capture, and for which he had made request of Major Johnstone on March 28th. But with the petulance of his nature, Captain Bligh, about this time, sent a verbal message by his gardener to the lieutenant-governor, saying that henceforth no more vegetables were to be supplied to him from the government garden! It cannot astonish one, therefore, that the cabbage-deprived commander should address the following to Major Johnstone:—

"I herewith transmit you a copy of a letter received yesterday from Captain Bligh, requesting his commission, books, papers, etc., to be returned to him. As I am determined not to interfere in the measures you have thought it expedient to adopt respecting Captain Bligh's suspension from the government previous to my taking the command of the colony, I must leave it entirely to your judgment how far his request can be complied with." To this came a reply from the major.

"As I considered most of the papers," he said, "that were taken from Government House necessary to the administration of the government of the colony, I declined coming to any determination respecting their return until the arrival of Lieutenant-Governor Paterson or yourself, of which Captain Bligh was apprised on the 16th of May. But as you have relieved me in the command, I am ready, as I signified to you on your arrival, to deliver all the papers whenever you should be pleased to receive them."

It was at the time of Major Johnstone's rule in Sydney, under the cognizance of Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, the lieutenant-governor at Port Dalrymple, and the nearest of the lieutenant-governors to the seat of rebellion, that the War Office in London raised the first-named gentleman to the post of lieutenant-colonel, and the second, full colonel in the army. Why the Van Diemen's Land officer, in more immediate communication with Sydney than

his fellow lieutenant-governor at Hobart Town, did not at once remove to the central seat of government does not appear clear in history. Without doubt he had had the same experience as other officials of the wayward character of Captain Bligh; and, while secretly approving of the acts of the conspirators, wished to be remarkably ignorant of passing events, and particularly afflicted in person when his presence was required.

It was not, however, till August 8th, 1808, that Captain Bligh chose to make his complaint to his own second in command. This was his letter to Port Dalrymple:—

"Lieutenant-Colonel Foveaux having informed me that he intends sending a colonial vessel to Port Dalrymple, I embrace it as the first opportunity I have had to inform you that on the 26th of January last, Major Johnstone, together with his officers and New South Wales corps under his command, aided by Messrs. Macrathur, Bayley, and others, did without any remonstrance, put me in confinement within the premises of Government House, where I remain at this present moment. A committee seized all my letters, books, books of appeal, my commission appointing me captain-general and governor-in-chief, my vice-admiral's commission, my instructions under the sign manual, together with those from my Lord Castlereagh, principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, all my papers, many of which were private, and the Great Seal of the colony. All that time the

colony was in peace and happiness, and the settlers (as they are now) highly satisfied with my administration. On this unparalleled occasion, I call upon you, as Lieutenant-Colonel of His Majesty's New South Wales corps, and Lieutenant-Governor of the territory, to use your utmost endeavours to suppress the mutiny of the corps under your command, that I may proceed in the government of the colony according to the powers delegated to me by your Most Gracious Sovereign.

"It remains for me to state that I will enter into no conditions, but I am disposed to inform you that, as Captain-General and Governor-in-Chief, all the troops are bound to obey me, and that no person whatever could lawfully deprive me of my government, unless by orders in due form from him to whom he shall delegate his power, death or absence being the only cases where the governor's authority can cease, he being the king's immediate representative.

"I have had no control over His Majesty's ship *Porpoise*, but heard that you had requested her to be sent down for you, and that she went in consequence. Since Lieutenant-Colonel Foveaux's arrival, the officer has been permitted to call on me."

In this carefully prepared document Captain Bligh had, without doubt, been assisted by a legal gentleman, one of his Sydney friends, who had had the misfortune of visiting the colony in the condition of penal servitude. The selection of the counsels and friendship of Emancipists had certainly excited the

caste feeling of the officials and the emigrants. The Governor placed the duty of Colonel Paterson before him, when he reminded him of the fact that the man who had deposed him from his government, and now assumed the authority in Sydney, was in reality the junior officer of the corps of which the Port Dalrymple ruler was the lieutenant-colonel. But the latter was not intimidated at this presentation of affairs.

On Sept. 29th, Lieutenant-Governor Paterson despatched his answer. In this he expresses natural surprise that Captain Bligh should permit six months to pass without informing him, his second in command, and immediate successor, as to "the causes of the critical displacement" of his authority. As to the demand that he place him at once in possession of his government, the lieutenant-colonel uses this language:—

"I cannot conscientiously risk an act which can do no possible good, until intelligence is received from England, and may be conducive of evils my life cannot counterbalance. It has been further represented to me that your departure from the colony has alone been protracted by yourself; but I beg to submit to your judgment that your own interests require an immediate presence before those who only now can decide on your conduct."

This prudent counsel of an early visit to Europe was not taken. He made repeated promises of leaving, but prolonged his stay in the hope, evidently, that some good fortune might restore him to his position, and give him the coveted opportunity for re-

venge upon his enemies. On the 3rd of August he informed Colonel Foveaux that he had ordered the *Porpoise* to be got ready for his departure without delay. On the 16th of the next month he wrote to say he had changed his mind.

The *Sydney Gazette* of January 9th, 1809, about a year after the celebrated insurrection, had the following order,—"The duty imposed on him, consequent on the suspension of the Government of William Bligh, Esq., requires that Lieutenant-Governor Paterson take the command of those territories until His Majesty's gracious instructions shall be obtained."

It was not enough that he should order down H.M ship *Porpoise* to take him from Port Dalrymple to Sydney, and so ignore the rights of the naval commander of the station, the ex-governor, but Colonel Paterson, in his official proclamation, added to this contemptuous neglect of Captain Bligh by alluding to him in the terms of address usually applied to private gentlemen. This was a sore subject of complaint at the time of the trial.

Soon after his arrival in New South Wales, Lieutenant Governor Paterson was brought into communication with the deposed official relative to leaving the colony. A formal agreement was drawn up between them on the 4th of February, 1809.

It was therein declared "that he will proceed to England with the utmost despatch, and that he will neither touch at nor return to any port of this territory until he shall have received His Majesty's in-

structions, or those of his ministers," etc. After this had been assented to, an additional clause is added: "In consequence of the above pledge, Lieutenant-Governor Paterson consents to remove the additional restraints which have been laid upon Captain Bligh since the 27th of last month, and to permit him to return to Government House."

The story of Governor Bligh has some parallels with that of King Charles I. Both were said to have virtually commenced the outrage called the Rebellion; both were placed in confinement; both promised and swore respect to certain ordinances, and both broke their word; both repeated their solemn covenants, and both again laughed at their former vows. From mistrust, Captain Bligh had been removed from Government House to the barracks, and, even by Colonel Paterson, subjected to closer surveillance; but, with the acceptance of reiterated oaths, the authorities permitted him at last to go free.

He went on board the *Porpoise* on February 20th, 1809. The first thing he did was to direct his guns against the merchant ship, *Admiral Gambier*, then ready for sea, and order the captain of it on no account to take Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone as a passenger to England, as he was then about to do. He now plainly indicated his intention not to fulfil his agreement, but to remain in the Australian waters. He next proceeded to arrest Lieutenant Kent, commander of the *Porpoise*, because he had taken the ship to Van Diemen's Land to fetch Colonel Paterson.

Lieutenant Kent had been placed between two fires. He knew the despotic temper of his chief, but still recognised his authority. Major Johnstone had stopped all communication with that ship and the shore. Lieutenant-Colonel Foveaux at first removed the restriction, but subsequently restored the prohibitive policy. When Lieutenant-Governor Paterson arrived, he permitted Captain Bligh to renew communication; but the first order sent to the vessel was that the officer was by force to board a vessel in the bay, and seize the despatches, then on their way to the Home Office. Colonel Paterson, therefore, directed that all letters between Captain Bligh and the *Porpoise* were in future to go through himself.

Lieutenant Kent, on September 2nd, refused to take any orders about his ship, or the other government vessel, the *Lady Nelson*, unless they came through Captain Bligh. He refused to acknowledge the new judge advocate, A. F. Kemp, Esq., and declined to attend the Court of Criminal Jurisdiction without his chief's signature. At the same time, when the deposed governor ordered him to bombard Sydney, and relieve him from confinement by force of arms, Mr. Kent refused obedience. He was subsequently brought to trial in England by his commander, but honourably acquitted.

As soon as the real intentions of the commodore became apparent, and his shore friends were rejoicing in the resolution of the released officer, although at the expense of his honour as a man, and his word

as a gentleman, the acting governor, Colonel Paterson, issued a Government order, on March 19th, 1809, from head quarters at Sydney. An extract is here given:—

"And whereas the said William Bligh, Esq., in strict violation of his word of honour as an officer and a gentleman, solemnly pledged therein, has not departed from this colony at the stipulated time, and in further breach thereof has caused to be distributed (by the hands of certain wicked and evil disposed persons implicated in the high crimes and misdemeanours with which he stands charged) certain libellous and inflammatory papers, intended to traduce the Government of this colony, to disturb the general tranquillity, to subvert good order and justice, and to destroy the serenity of public and private property and personal liberty,—being determined to exert the full powers with which I am vested to prevent the dreadful consequences meant to result from the designs of the said William Bligh, Esq., and his accomplices, I do hereby positively charge and command all his Majesty's subjects within this territory not to hold, countenance, or be privy to any communication," etc. Warnings were given for,—"Any person who shall attempt to set a defiance, opposition, neglect, or evasion thereof, in order that such offenders may be dealt with as abettors of sedition, and enemies to the peace and prosperity of the colony."

Captain Bligh never attempted any justification of

his conduct in relation to this breaking of his word of honour. When at the trial in London he said: "I was completely outlawed till the middle of January, 1810." As an outlaw he may have supposed it useless and unnecessary to be bound by any agreement. His only way of defending himself may be seen in his statement in 1811,—"The moment," said he, "I got the command of the *Porpoise*, I took care to keep it, and would not suffer any of their terms, or anything which they said, to have the least influence on my mind."

In truth, he rather gloried in his successful trickery: for he had the coolness to tell the court martial afterwards, "The people thought I was going to England; *that was the condition on which the ship had been given up to me.*"

He stayed in Port Jackson for a month, and then on March 17th, 1809, sailed for the Derwent, where he arrived on the 30th.

At this time, the Derwent settlement of Hobart Town was under Lieutenant-Governor Collins. This gentleman, like almost every official, had his sympathies rather with the rebels than the deposed one. Having received a supply of provisions, for which the infant colony was much in need, Colonel Collins wrote to thank Major Johnstone, June 11th, 1808, saying, "I cannot but be sensible of your attention to our situation since you have had the direction of the Government at Port Jackson." He had in vain solicited the favour previously from Captain Bligh.

Upon the arrival of the *Porpoise* in the Derwent, no difficulty was experienced in communication. After a while, especially upon the receipt of Colonel Paterson's proclamation, a coolness began, and strengthened the longer the vessel remained. Lieutenant-Governor Collins urged Captain Bligh to put to sea, and to proceed to Europe as he had engaged to do. This the other would not consent to. Then all communication was stopped between the ship and the shore. Captain Bligh told the court martial in 1811 that rations were refused, and that even a man was flogged for selling fowls to him. It was in an order, dated December 7th, 1809, that Governor Collins expressed surprise that some were "so infatuated as to consider Captain Bligh the governor still."

In the meantime, pens were busy in correspondence with the home authorities, who were so singularly remiss in attention to so important an affair. The deposed governor might well have been astonished at this indifference, saying, "I had been just two years without having a word from England." Major Johnstone had written, but obtained no reply. Lieutenant-Colonel Foveaux had met no better fortune. The one embarked in the *Admiral Gambier*, to place himself on trial; the other gave way to Colonel Paterson. This gentleman had now to open up a correspondence with the English ministry.

On March 13th, 1809, he sat down to this business. Fearful of his despatches being intercepted by the *Porpoise*, he delayed writing until that vessel should

go, and Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone could carry them safely to Europe in the *Admiral Gambier*. He had to account for his singular want of promptitude in proceeding to Sydney, especially as he had seen the "necessity of relieving Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone in the command of the territory." His apology was a severe and tedious illness; and that, when ready, he was unable to find a suitable vessel to carry him.

He had a curious story to tell Lord Castlereagh. Just as his ship arrived at Sydney Heads, he received a note from the acting governor, Foveaux, to say that he had ascertained that Captain Bligh had given orders to the commander of the *Porpoise* to place him under arrest as soon as the vessel reached Port Jackson, but that the treacherous design had been detected and averted. "Having," wrote Colonel Paterson to Lord Castlereagh, "in no instance given Commodore Bligh the most trifling cause to contemplate an act of such unjustifiable violence, your lordship will judge of my indignation."

After this, particularly, he was persuaded that there was no chance of carrying on the government in peace so long as the commodore was near. He regarded the man as being as unprincipled as he was cruel, and as having borne "the most rancorous ill-will to any officer and inhabitant who he conceived could possibly, in the remotest manner, interfere with a matured plan of exercising the high command with which he was honoured in the purposes of gratifying his insatiably tyrannic disposition, and of advancing

his pecuniary interest." He assured the Secretary of State, that "it is painful at this period to contemplate the consequences which must have followed the continuation of his power."

His urgency for the passage of the ex-governor had been shown from an early date. "Your lordship," he said, "will perceive by my reply to the first communication I received from Commodore Bligh upon the suspension of his power, it was my unqualified opinion that the interests of the territory, equally with his own, required that he should proceed to England."

Colonel Paterson conducted the government with ability and firmness. His opinions upon the so-called military rebellion may be gathered from the Government order, in September, 1809, after a review of the New South Wales Corps, in which he praises their "unrelaxed discipline, and exemplary propriety of conduct, which have invariably marked the whole progress of their long service in this colony." He pursued the system adopted by Major Johnstone and Lieutenant-Governor Foveaux, tending to repress the advance of the Emancipists, who had been so unduly encouraged by Governor Bligh. He enforced Foveaux's order, of August 27th, 1808, preventing prisoners of the Crown intruding as pleaders into court without especial license, and "to apprize those who have been convicts, that a disobedience of the injunction will be punished in a most exemplary manner."

He was treated with distinction and courtesy upon the arrival of the governor, General Macquarie, sent out to supersede him, who requested him to have the goodness to continue the superintendence of public works, and directed all honour to be paid to him while he stayed in the colony. He went home with his lady in the *Dromedary*, May 7th, 1810, a month after Lieutenant-Colonel Foveaux had sailed home. The *Sydney Gazette* of the day has this notice of the popular ruler:—

"Cheers were given by the spectators, on and about the wharf, which were re-echoed from each vessel as the pinnace passed. When abreast of the public landing wharf, the like salutes were given by a numerous body of inhabitants who were there assembled; and ten crowded boats followed the colonel's pinnace in succession, cheering all the way, as the public demonstration of respect toward an officer who had for many years been second in command in the colony, and whose urbanity of manners, joined to a true benevolence of disposition, had endeared him to all classes of the inhabitants."

At last, but not until nearly two years of the interregnum had passed, the herald of peace and order came. The new governor, appointed from home, Lieutenant-General Macquarie, was colonel of the 73rd regiment, recently arrived in the colony.

Undoubtedly, as the representative of His Majesty and law, he came not to uphold the principles of the so-called rebellion, nor did he appear to punish those

who were connected with that act. His cordiality towards Lieutenant-Colonel Paterson, who had evidently no sympathy with the deposed governor, was a proof to some anxious Sydney men that he intended no vindictiveness against the insurrectionists. But though he came not as Colonel Bligh's friend, and although the home ministry never seem to have had an idea of reinstating the object of such discussion, yet he was authorised to give that gentleman twenty-four hours' rule in the colony, before he himself should be sworn in. As the commodore was not then in the waters of Port Jackson, the ceremony, greatly to the relief of many, could not be performed. When, however, shortly after, Captain Bligh made his appearance, and claimed his day's government, the governor-in chief declined to resign for his benefit. What he would have done in those hours of sovereignty must be left to conjecture.

On the last day of 1809, the new governor sailed into Sydney Cove. On the first day of 1810, he published his anxiously looked for proclamation.

He therein intimates the twenty-four hours' rule to be granted to "William Bligh, Esq." He declares that "His Majesty has felt the utmost regret and displeasure on account of the late tumultuous proceedings in this colony, and the mutinous conduct toward his late representative, William Bligh, Esq."

These terrible words passed, a more conciliatory tone is assumed in the following gracious passage:—

"His Excellency the Governor avails himself of

this opportunity of expressing his earnest hope that harmony and union will now be restored to the colony; all party spirit, which has unfortunately resulted from the late unhappy disturbance will end; and that the higher classes will set an example of subordination, morality, and decorum; and that those in the inferior station will continue to distinguish themselves only by their loyalty, their sobriety, and their industry; by which means alone the welfare and happiness of this community can be effectually promoted."

One cannot help a smile at this homily to the "higher classes," enforcing the duties of subordination, morality, and decorum; while the "inferior station," were mildly exhorted to "*continue* to distinguish themselves only by their loyalty, their sobriety, and their industry." This exhibition of the vices and virtues is most instructive to posterity.

A second proclamation came out three days after, on January 4th, 1810. This was very necessary under the circumstances. How were the acts of the Provisional Government to be treated? Grants of land had been made, and settlements had been made upon them. To allow the legality of these would be to acknowledge the acts of the rulers. To disallow the grants would not only be cruel to the citizens, but be unnecessarily harsh to the authorities.

The proclamation met the difficulty. While the doings of the interregnum must be null and void, by the nature of things, yet these grants "may and will,

upon proper application being made for that purpose, be renewed in the name of His Excellency the Governor, provided His Excellency shall see no objection therein." The same arrangement must be made with all moneys collected or dispensed in the name of the Government. A new title would be given. But certainly it would never do to consent to the grants made to the officers of the New South Wales Corps after that 26th of January, 1808. They might be regarded as rewards for successful rebellion, and were not confirmed.

The executive of the late Government were uneasy. The acts of the sheriff and magistrate would be called in question, and the administrators tormented with actions at law. The merciful proclamation provided that no suits shall be permitted to be brought against them on account of supposed illegality. His Excellency expressed himself "anxious to promote the tranquillity of the colony, to prevent improper and malicious litigation, and particularly to protect those persons who, since the arrest and removal of William Bligh, Esq., have acted as magistrates." Free pardons granted through the interregnum were also declared null and void; but, after passing through a certain form, were legally established.

"His Excellency the Governor," it was furthermore said, "feels himself called upon at the present moment to impress upon the minds of ALL, and more particularly of those who may have sustained any loss or inconvenience since the said arrest and removal

of William Bligh, Esq., the necessity of forbearance, and the importance of that union, tranquillity, and harmony in the present crisis, so essential to the welfare of the colony, and which the governor has so much at heart."

Great rejoicings and congratulations ensued. The hatchet was solemnly buried. A return to kinder feeling was quickly manifested. The noble sentiment of the governor at his installation was fully appreciated, when he said: "I am sanguine in my hopes that all these dissensions and jealousies which have unfortunately existed in this colony for some time past, will now terminate for ever."

A public meeting of colonists took place, and an address was prepared in acknowledgment of this gracious proclamation. "They cherish hope," said the memorialists, "that the union and harmony so forcibly recommended by your Excellency will unanimously prevail, and that all party spirit may be buried in oblivion."

So ended the drama so far as the colony was concerned. In his future acts the new governor undoubtedly favoured the Emancipist interest. He removed several unjust and oppressive disabilities under which the rising class laboured. He raised some of them to the magistracy, to the disgust of the chaplain, Mr. Marsden, who resigned his office on the Bench. Many have I heard praise the "Good Macquarie," the best friend of the prisoner, especially those who received liberal grants of land at his hands. But the

liquor traffic was restored to its old conditions. The monopoly was maintained in the hands of the few. Rum currency was again established. The governor purchased a house for two hundred gallons of rum soon after his arrival. But with all this, General Macquarie did noble service to that colony, and especially in his sympathy for the cause of virtue.

But where are the conspirators and their victim? Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone had long before sailed to Europe, that he might meet a court martial, which was in no hurry to assemble. Colonel Foveaux did not sail till March, 1810. Colonel Paterson remained awhile for the ship *Dromedary*. Commodore Bligh went to see his Hawkesbury friends. The 102nd regiment, lately the New South Wales Corps, were going home in the *Porpoise*, greatly to the annoyance of the ex-governor, who intended to sail in her, but had to take his passage in the *Hindoostan*. The *Sydney Gazette* informed its readers that the evening before his departure, "a farewell dinner was given by Commodore Bligh to a select party of fashionables."

On the 7th May their vessels left Port Jackson together, and left the political atmosphere clearer by their absence. The conflict was to be transferred to London. The *Hindoostan* carried Commodore Bligh; the *Dromedary*, Colonel Paterson; and the *Porpoise*, the noisy soldiery of the 102nd.

Exactly one year after leaving Sydney, being on May 7th, 1811, the trial of Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone,

for mutiny, took place at Chelsea Hospital. General Keppel and fourteen officers formed the court.

Commodore Bligh read his statement, and gave the history of his arrest from January 26th, 1808, to February 20th, 1809. His witnesses were Mr. Commissary Palmer, Mr. Campbell, Mr. F. Oakes, district constable of Parramatta, Mr. W. Gore, the provost-marshal, and Dr. Mason. These deposed to the quiet state of the colony at the time of the rebellion, and to the riot of the soldiery under Major Johnstone.

The accused then made his defence. "I have been in England," said he, "more than eighteen months. I came hither for the express purpose of meeting a charge which I had been given to understand Captain Bligh would prefer against me." He felt it hard, therefore, that his accuser had delayed so long, that several of the defendant's friends brought from the colony could not remain for his help. He related his past history, his military engagements in America, India, and Africa. He volunteered to New South Wales in 1786, and sailed in the first fleet the following year. No charge had ever been brought against him before, nor had he ever preferred a charge against others; in that establishing a contrast between himself and Captain Bligh.

Confessing his act of removing the Governor, he declared: "Yet I feel so strongly conscious of the rectitude of my intentions, so firmly and solemnly convinced that neither malice, faction, ambition, or

avarice guided my conduct, so perfectly sure that an anxious zeal for His Majesty's service, and the desire to prevent a massacre, and the plunder and ruin of an infant colony, alone determined my mode of proceeding,—that I cannot, as far as a guilty intention is necessary to constitute guilt, charge myself wi h any crime."

He spoke of the strength of the arguments to urge him to his course. The Governor had been guided by evil counsel, especially by an ex-convict lawyer and an ex-convict clergyman. On the eventful day, he said: "As I passed through the streets, everything denoted terror and consternation." Many free and respectable persons came to intreat him to depose Captain Bligh, or else the blood of the colonists would rest on his head. The knowledge of the intended seizure of his officers also, impelled him to action. Yet he denied the story of a military riot; asserting that "not a word was spoken along the whole line."

Mr. Atkins, the deposed judge-advocate, was severe in his remarks upon Captain Bligh's advisers. Mr. Macarthur told the story given elsewhere. Messrs. Blaxland, Mann, and Whittle, spoke of the Governor's tyranny and injustice. Lieutenant Minchen gave a funny version of the arrest; and Lieutenant Kent, the commodore's persecuted commander of the *Porpoise*, was a witness against his old superior. Captain Bligh had the right of reply, but contented himself with an appeal to the sympathies of the Court, because of his long service and exploits.

The trial terminated. The military jury took time to consider their verdict. The announcement was made in a general order from the Horse Guards, dated July 2nd, 1811:—

"The Court having duly and maturely weighed and considered the whole of the evidence adduced on the prosecution, as well as what has been offered in defence, are of opinion that Lieutenant-Colonel Johnstone is guilty of the act of mutiny as described in the charge, and do, therefore, sentence him to be cashiered."

That the crime of mutiny, attendant with the arrest and deposition of the representative of the king, should be so mildly visited, needed an apology from the military judges:—

"The Court, in passing a sentence so inadequate to the enormity of the crime of which the prisoner has been found guilty, have apparently been actuated by a consideration of the novel and extraordinary circumstances which, by the evidence on the face of the proceedings, may have appeared to them to have existed during the administration of Governor Bligh, both as affecting the tranquillity of the colony, and calling for some immediate decision."

This judgment was no great victory for Commodore Bligh. Some sacrifice to offended officialdom was required. One man only suffered, and he to no greater extent than the removal of office. His superiors, Lieutenant-Governors Foveaux and Paterson, who had clearly espoused his cause, were not even

reprimanded by the Court, although Captain Bligh vehemently attacked both in his opening speech.

The accuser lived to become an admiral; and died in London, in 1817. His deposer went back to the colony a private gentleman and a respected citizen. He had never coveted popularity; although the *Gazette*, when speaking of his departure, in 1809, gloried in "the populace taking leave of this much-esteemed officer with reiterated bursts of acclamation."

It is certainly a remarkable fact that the man who suffered for inciting a rebellion in 1808 should have been the one who put down a rebellion in 1804.

A number of convicts, chiefly the transported Irish rebels, had determined upon the plunder of Parramatta, then the head-quarters of Government, and the establishment of a republic in New South Wales, upon the model of that which was to have been in Ireland, in 1798. They sought to have the leadership of the celebrated Colonel Holt, who was then on a farm in the colony. But, though he saw a chance of success from the carelessness and drunkenness of the soldiers, he declined, as he told them, giving another chance to Irishmen to betray him. He assured them, "an insurrection will only add to your misery, or bring you to the gallows." In an entry of his journal in February, 1804, he wrote, "The devil was as busy in New South Wales as ever he had been in Ireland."

But not to be defeated in their project, they rose on March 4th, 1804. They resolved, in true French fashion, to plant the "Tree of Liberty" in the streets

of Parramatta. Their outrages that day were confined to the country around Castle Hill and the Hawkesbury. Three hundred armed Irishmen assembled under their leader, Cunningham of Kerry.

But Major Johnstone, the hero of the great rebellion of New South Wales, was the foremost to attack the rebels on this occasion. Hastily gathering a force of twenty-five men, he dashed after the enemy. In his ardour, he had got ahead of the soldiers, being attended but by one man when he reached the hostile camp. Boldly going into the throng, he walked up to Cunningham, and asked him what he wanted. The rebel, taking off his hat, most civilly bowed, and replied, "Death or victory!" Before the major could interfere, the soldier with him fired at the leader, and took him prisoner. In an instant, the whole of the rebels took to flight! Years after, Colonel Holt had this passing commentary upon the day. "If I had been in Cunningham's place," wrote he, "I should have taken off Captain Johnstone's head, instead of my own hat."

Numbers were shot in the pursuit, as other companies of the New South Wales Corps had come up. Ten of the captured were afterwards hung at Parramatta, two in Sydney, and two on Castle Hill.

Governor King, the day after the rebellion, March 5th, 1804, gave public thanks to Lieutenant-Governor Paterson, Major Johnstone, and Captain Abbott, etc. The order speaks of their "running after a body of two hundred and sixty-six armed rebels, upwards of

seven miles from the place where certain information was received of them; the gallantry of Major Johnstone's conduct, with only one trooper, in detaining that body till his small force of twenty-five soldiers, with Quarter-Master Laycock and several of the volunteer inhabitants of Parramatta, could overtake him; securing the two principal leaders; and the consequent rout of the rebel body," etc.

In a subsequent order, dated March 25th, thanks were given to the volunteers. "The energy and activity of the settlers and other inhabitants of the settlement of Hawkesbury," said the Governor, "in pursuing and apprehending the ill-advised, and equally ill-disposed miscreants, who fled toward the mountains in wild and terrible despair, was highly meritorious and praiseworthy."

Though somewhat like the "Cabbage Garden Rebellion" of more modern days, for heroic defence of liberty, it should not be forgotten that, in the secon. attempt to overthrow the Government, it was the official head that was panic struck; and though he fled not to the mountains "in wild and terrible despair," his feelings under the feather bed were at least as ruffled as his shirt frill. Altogether the historical parallel of the two rebellions is singularly interesting. But not the least remarkable is the fact that the crusher of the first insurrection should have been leader in the second.

VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

THE FIRST CHAPLAIN OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

THE Rev. Robert Knopwood was appointed chaplain to the fleet that sailed, in 1803, to form a new penal settlement at Port Phillip. The expedition was a failure, and the convicts were removed from the southern shore of New Holland to the banks of the Derwent, early in 1804.

Mr. Knopwood's duties as a magistrate appear to have occupied more time than the devotion to ministerial functions, and his interest in the convivialities of Government officers sadly interfered with his pastoral vocation. As he never married, his exuberant spirits, his partiality for lively company, his reputation for jollity, and his preference of ladies' society, exposed him, in those days of lax morality, to some free, but not ill-natured, criticism.

No one accused him of a want of benevolence, and all commended his gentlemanly demeanour. He was fond of his pipe; and for a number of years he was accustomed to dine at the hotel, with his bachelor friends, after church on Sunday. When much displeased, he might employ the language of the period. Though a clergyman, he despised hypocrisy, and his reputed saying was, "Do as I say, not as I do." His

manner of reading the higher numbers of the Commandments furnished a joke for the profane.

He was decidedly popular, as Charles the Second was, with the lower classes. As a magistrate, he was not harsh in judgment, nor cruel in sentence. To one who complained, however, of the injustice of some penalty, he is reported to have mildly said, "Never mind: take your dozen; it will do for another time." His celebrated Timor, cream-coloured, pony was a great favourite in the colony. Upon the removal of Mr. Knopwood to Clarence Plains, the old horse swam across the broad Derwent, to reach his old stable at Cottage Green.

Governor King gave him a grant of thirty acres, reaching over what is now known as the New Wharf and Battery Point. His first wooden residence, situated at the corner of the burial ground, was blown down. Cottage Green, and all the land whereon the New Wharf stores were afterwards erected, was offered by Mr. Knopwood for £800, in 1824. An addition of £77 10*s.* to his salary was made in 1814, so that his income might be equal to that of the second chaplain at Port Jackson.

In the *Gazette* of April 18th, 1823, we read, "The memorial of the Rev. Robert Knopwood, M.A., assistant chaplain of this colony, soliciting His Majesty's permission to retire, having been laid before the King, His Majesty has been graciously pleased to accept of Mr. Knopwood's resignation, and in consideration of his long service, during a period of twenty

years, to permit him to retire with a pension from the colonial fund."

As the Rev. William Bedford had arrived in Hobart Town, and was already commencing a new order of clerical action in the colony, no wonder was excited at the first chaplain's retirement. The farewell sermon was preached at St. David's, on April 27th, 1823. The *Sydney Gazette*, the following month, reviewed that discourse, and quietly observed: "After twenty years' service, no doubt the reverend gentleman feels fatigued with the important functions he has had to discharge."

He retired across the river to a farm at Clarence Plains, and occasionally performed service. There is a notice of his preaching at New Norfolk, in April, 1825. He died in 1836.

THE FIRST HOBART TOWN CHURCH.

Colonel Collins, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Hobart Town, though not susceptible to religious emotions, not devoted to Church celebrations, and not conspicuous for the ordinary virtues, was nevertheless sufficiently possessed of the instincts of an officer and a gentleman to observe the proprieties of Sunday service.

The first church was a large tent. A more substantial structure, and one better fitted to the climate, was then constructed. About this there is some dif-

ference in the various traditions of the town. Some assert that a Government wooden workshop in Bathurst Street was used. Others call the building a log-hut. One of my informants, Mrs. Burgess, a lady of probity and intelligence, whose memory is as "remarkable for its tenacity as her word for truthfulness," was accustomed to go to worship when a child. She describes the room near Bathurst Street, as having a thatched roof and an earthen floor. The seats were rough slabs of wood. The place could hold about a hundred persons. The musical development of the colony did not admit the employment of singing at these early services of the chaplain. As far as I am able to learn, this building was simply the so-called "King's Stores," and might have been used as a workshop as well as a store. It was never anything but a temporary church, and became so occupied, in all probability, when the old church was blown down in 1812. That church, really succeeding the tent, was a small wooden edifice in the flat near the burial ground.

The first notice of a religious kind that I observed, in my search among old colonial records, was in the curious Muster Roll Book, in which all Government orders and proclamations were entered. There, under the date, May 28th, 1808, is this interesting piece of information:—

"Divine service will be performed to-morrow, and every Sunday in future that the weather will possibly admit, at which time the attendance of the settlers and male and female prisoners is expected."

The foundation of St. David's church was laid on February 19th, 1817. It was maliciously said that, like as Governor King called the two first churches of New South Wales, St. Philip and St. John, after Governor *Philip* and Governor *John* Hunter, so did the not less pious Lieutenant-Governor Davey, of the Derwent Settlement, call the Hobart Town church, St. David, after the first ruler *David* Collins. It is certainly singular that upon the stone of foundation were inscribed these words:—

"To perpetuate the memory of
His Honour, the late DAVID COLLINS, ESQUIRE,
Lieutenant-Governor of Van Diemen's Land, and
Colonel in the Royal Marine Forces.
Departed this life the 24th of March, A.D. 1810,
In the Administration of His Government."

The demonstration at this solemn festival of the Church was characteristic of the times. A holiday was proclaimed, to the great relief of Government employées and convicts. One half-pint of spirits was ordered to be issued to all soldiers and constables for this Thanksgiving Day. A grand procession of civil and military officers took place. Mrs. and Miss Davey were there. The stone was duly laid with masonic honours. It bore, in addition to what has been previously stated, these words,—

"The foundation stone of St. David's church was laid this 19th of February, A.D. 1817, by Thomas Davey, Esquire, lieutenant-governor of Van Diemen's Land, Lieutenant-Colonel of His Majesty's Royal

Marine Forces, in the presence of all the civil and military officers of this settlement."

The chaplain preached from the text, "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ;" and, said the paper of the colony, "In his impressive delivery endeavoured to show the good that might be derived from religion, which seemed to excite the most profound attention; after which a neat and appropriate masonic oration was delivered by a member of the society."

This church was consecrated in 1823, by the Rev. W. Marsden, as the senior chaplain of New South Wales, and the burial ground was consecrated on the same occasion; for, although the foundation-stone was laid in February, 1817, it took several years to complete it. The advertisement for twenty-four windows appeared at the end of 1818. The *Sydney Gazette* was able to declare in January, 1822, that "At Hobart Town is a church, which for beauty and convenience cannot be exceeded by any in the Australasian hemisphere; and which, moreover, we are credibly instructed to say, is now better attended than in days of yore." In 1823, the sum of £300 was remitted to England for an organ. So eager was the new chaplain for his duties, that for a few weeks he opened the church three times every Sunday; subsequently he limited the services to two.

The inconvenience from want of a suitable place had been long felt. The population had greatly increased. The store in Bathurst Street became utterly

useless. The only church was the ground facing the verandah at the soldiers' barracks, or Government House. At that time, and till long after my arrival in the colony, the Governor's wooden residence had a deep verandah. Under that shelter the clergyman and the leading inhabitants found a space, while the rest of the congregation did as they could under rain and sunshine with the shade provided by the gum-trees in front. The following Government orders will illustrate the condition of things, and the unpleasant consequences attendant on the services.

March 21, 1818. "Divine service will be performed to-morrow, at eleven o'clock, under the verandah at the barracks."

"Divine service will be performed at the barracks, at eleven o'clock on Sundays, when the weather permits, until further orders."

A more important Government order appeared on April 22th, 1817. The printer was either careless, or in typical difficulty.

"government house, hobart town,
saturday, *April* 12, 1817.

Divine Service will be performed at government house to-morrow, at eleven o'clock. The Troops will Parade as usual to attend it, and the Inspector of Public Works will enforce the regular attendance of all the Crown Servants in and about hobart town. The Rev. Mr. Knopwood is requested to make arrangements, so that One side of the Veranda may be open for the Accommodation of the Public Officers and

Principal Inhabitants of hobart town: One of the rooms in government house will also be open for the same purpose.

By command of His Honour,
the Lieutenant-Governor.
W. A. Ross, *Secretary.*"

The first Launceston church, St. John's, had its foundation-stone laid by Governor Arthur, December 28th, 1824. The ground had been previously consecrated by Mr. Marsden. The first services were held in the following December by Mr. Youl, who died before the completion of the building. The church was consecrated in March, 1827, by Archdeacon Scott, of Sydney. The edifice will hold 700 persons, though half that number would have to ascend to the galleries. The pews let from £3 to £3 10*s.* each. The Rev. Mr. Norman succeeded the Rev. Mr. Youl. But the Rev. W. H. Brown, from Ireland, was nominated, November 1st, 1828, having now been over forty years associated with Launceston, and respected by his fellow-townsmen.

The Rev. John Youl had been a missionary in Tahiti, under the London Missionary Society. He arrived in Van Diemen's Land at the end of 1818. He soon removed from Port Dalrymple, or George Town, to Launceston, where he erected a wooden church. He used to attract people to church by beating an iron barrel with a mallet.

The Rev. Wm. Bedford, of Hobart Town, is elsewhere spoken of. The Rev. N. Davis came to his

congregation of five persons, at Longford, in 1830. The Rev. Mr. Palmer became rural dean in 1834. The excellent Archdeacon Hutchens died in 1841, leaving a name endeared to many. Sir John Franklin testified to "his able head, his genuine moderation, and his truly Christian piety." The office of the archdeacon was abolished, and a bishopric succeeded.

It comes too near modern times to speak of the learned, the accomplished, and the benevolent Dr. Nixon, first Bishop of Tasmania. He arrived in 1842, and was subsequently compelled by ill health to retire from his work. The organization of the Episcopalian Church in Tasmania is not less indebted to him, than that of the Church in New South Wales to Bishop Broughton.

THE FIGHTING CHAPLAIN.

If ever a man was called upon to battle with a host, to charge the serried ranks of foes, to struggle foot by foot with an obstinate opponent, it was the second chaplain of Van Diemen's Land.

It was in 1823 that Mr. Bedford, who had been useful in the London prisons, was selected to succeed the Rev. R. Knopwood, as clergyman of the convict settlement of Hobart Town. It was high time some one entered the island as a moral agent. The flock had never had a shepherd, and they had sadly strayed away.

It was at this period that evils were at such a height as to threaten the complete disorganization of society. Several of the Governors of Van Diemen's Land had rather increased than checked the growth of offences, by their own vicious examples. Drunkenness, especially, was all but universal. Its desolation swept across the country.

But that which peremptorily called for the reprobation of authority, but which was sanctioned by the usage of the highest officials, was the vice of lasciviousness. Thanks to the despotism of penal discipline, there was little hindrance to the freedom of sin. The males were greatly in excess of the females. Both parties were, of course, with very few exceptions, of the prisoner class; and neither sex was characterized by refinement, honour, or virtue. The women were certainly abandoned enough without the degrading associations of their present existence, and the threats as well as allurements which precipitated their further decline.

The consequence of all this was the practice of concubinage in all circles, and an illicit intercourse approaching to the promiscuous.

The feelings of the newly arrived chaplain may well be conceived. He wept, he raged, he prayed. Instances are on record of good men being so dismayed at the dreadful scene of vice before them, that they were constrained to retire before it. The pastor of Hobart Town was made of sterner stuff. Indignation got the better of his sympathy. His righteous

excitement was kindled, not against the poor outcast prisoner, but against the authorities in office. These were seen to live shamelessly in sin. Against these he thundered with a Knox-like zeal in the church which they were forced in etiquette to attend. He denounced their guilt in the language of the old seers, and uttered warnings and judgments with the energy of an Elijah.

He rested not here. To purify the land, he appealed to the executive. If a change of heart could not be secured, at least the outward shame of sin might be removed. It would be idle for him to enforce the seventh commandment upon the convicts, when they saw its open violation by their superiors.

He found an able seconder of his schemes of reformation in Governor Arthur, then recently appointed. A Government order was issued, commanding all officers, on pain of dismissal from public service, to amend their lives, and to be united in matrimony with those with whom they had been publicly living in shame, and by whom, in many cases, they had a family.

This struck terror into the community of officials They wished to retain their position, but not to be fettered by the marriage tie. They conjured, and they blustered; they presented memorials, and they condemned the tyranny, but all in vain; the law was intended for obedience.

Then the malcontents turned upon the real author of this invasion of the rights of their domestic institu-

tions. They sought to cajole him in private: they insulted him in public. They appealed to his generosity at one time, to his fears at another. Prayers, bribes, and threats were all in vain. The *Fighting Chaplain* was not to be driven from his entrenchments, nor seduced from his duty.

Gradually and sulkily the discomforted chiefs gave in. Their mistresses were made wives, and their children were legitimated in the eyes of the law. Then, and not till then, did the champion of virtue attack those of lesser name, and bring his influence to bear upon their public conduct.

The good man fought and conquered. Commencing his warfare almost single-handed, he soon gathered round him useful auxiliaries in the field, who performed valiant service for truth under his captainship. It may be that he struck hard blows with sharp weapons; but it was because he saw that the battle must be real, and the struggle be sharp. It was not that his nature was all sternness. We know, from personal acquaintance, that the man was full of human sympathies, and that he combined the love of John with the fire of Peter.

He has since gone to his rest. The colonial lovers of virtue will never cease to recognise with gratitude the labours of the Rev. Dr. Bedford, the venerable chaplain of Hobart Town.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM IN HOBART TOWN.

As in New South Wales, so in Van Diemen's Land, the Roman Catholic convicts had to attend the religious services of the Protestant Church in the earliest days. When permitted to absent themselves from such attendance, they were without a priest of their own Church.

The Rev. Philip Connolly and Rev. John Joseph Therry, or Thierry, arrived in New South Wales in 1820. The first was located in Sydney, and the other at Parramatta. They were very different in disposition, and had little sympathy of feeling. The junior was by far the superior in talent, energy, and character. It may be that his sense of justice, or restlessness of habit, made him enemies among his order; but it is certain that from 1820 to 1860, Mr. Therry had some standing cause of complaint with his lay and ecclesiastical superiors. A curious illustration of this is given in an official communication from Governor Macquarie, of Sydney, to Lieut.-Governor Sorell, on August 31st, 1820, at a time when Mr. Therry contemplated removal to Hobart Town.

A copy of instructions sent from home was forwarded to the Derwent settlement, for the guidance of His Honour there in his conduct towards the newly arrived Roman Catholic priests. It had become absolutely necessary for some provision to be made for the spiritual interests of so many Roman Catholic convicts, who had so long a time been left

without that religious control, which was supposed so valuable an auxiliary to the police. When, therefore, two priests were permitted to take their passage, they were accepted as State servants, for prison purposes, and a salary of £100 allowed. But the conditions which bound them were very restrictive in that day of ecclesiastical exclusiveness. Father Therry appears from the very first to have been wanting in humility to the powers. He came too early with notions of religious freedom, and he suffered the consequences of his impracticability or imprudence.

In the letter from General Macquarie, reference was made to this priest, "who now," said His Excellency, "proceeds with a purpose of officiating in Van Diemen's Land. Mr. Therry, even in the short period of his residence here, having in several instances acted counter both to the letter and spirit of His Excellency's instructions, and also in variance with the conduct of his senior chaplain, Mr. Connolly, who had disapproved thereof, it is His Excellency's desire that you should be apprized of this fact, in order to your adopting such measures as Mr. Therry's conduct under your government may warrant."

The impetuous clergyman preferred remaining in New South Wales, and his senior went to Hobart Town.

Father Connolly, or Conolly, came originally from the Mauritius. He landed in Van Diemen's Land in March, 1821. His first services were held in Mr.

Curr's Stores, near the Old Temperance Hall, Bathurst Street. Land being granted in Harrington Street, a rude wooden chapel was raised.

Funny stories are told of this gentleman by the *old hands*. His love of creature comforts, his enjoyment of fun, his singular selection of penances for the offences of his flock, his real kindness of nature, and his lack of reverence, all furnished topics of conversation in the olden times. The Rev. John West, the historian of Tasmania, has this remark of him: "He used a common brush to sprinkle them with holy water, and spoke of their faults without much softness or reserve." He died in 1839.

At a meeting in Hobart Town, March 18th, 1834, it was announced that the Rev. J. J. Therry, "senior priest in these colonies would accept their invitation, and leave Sydney for Hobart Town." His name was known and respected; subscriptions, therefore, flowed in from a joyful people. And faithfully did he serve them. No one who knew him could deny his devotion to his clerical duties, his self-sacrificing attention to the sick, his benevolent efforts, and his love for children.

The arrival of Bishop Wilson relieved him of much responsibility; but no Roman Catholic of Tasmania can refuse to own his obligations to Father Therry, nor will colonists of other communions fail to acknowledge his worth.

THE EARLY WESLEYANS OF HOBART TOWN.

As soon as Mr. Leigh was settled in New South Wales, he directed the attention of the Methodist Fathers to the spiritual destitution of Van Diemen's Land. In February, 1817, he wrote to the Parent Society: "I now beg leave to recommend to the notice of the committee the present state of a settlement, distant from this, though within the jurisdiction of this colony, particularly those at a place called Van Diemen's Land. I would earnestly recommend that some of our missionaries should be authorized to visit, previous to any regular appointment being made."

This very cautious and respectful suggestion received no attention. When the good man was invalided, and returned to Europe, so anxious was he about the island, that he wrote first a letter from the ship, as it came into Portsmouth Harbour, entreating help: "I beg leave," said he, "to recommend to the notice of the committee the large settlement called the Derwent, distant from Sydney about two weeks' sail, a place where the gospel is much wanted."

But before this letter was even written, a more particular presentation of the circumstances of the colony had been submitted by the much admired Mr. Carvosso, one of a noble family of Christian worthies. That gentleman had been sent to New South Wales, but had put into Hobart Town on the way; as vessels preferred that route to the dangers of

Bass's Strait, with its unsurveyed rocks and shoals. As the first Wesleyan minister who had touched there, the first who had preached there, the first to urge the claims of the people from the shore itself, his memory would be cherished among the inhabitants; but his gentleness and piety, his large-heartedness and fervour, his sympathy and labour, endeared him to all who approached him, and hallowed his name in Tasmania.

In his official report to the London Board he draws a frightful picture of the state of society. "If there ever was," said he, "a place carried captive, and lying in the bonds of iniquity, surely we may safely affirm it of most of the colonists of this island." Six thousand were scattered over its hills and plains; and, until a little before his arrival, but one minister of any Church was found among them. He thus describes the clergyman, the Rev. R. Knopwood: "A chaplain has resided in this town for several years. But he is far advanced in life, and labours under so many bodily infirmities as to be able to do but little for the good of others." He did well to speak kindly of the man who, with all his faults, was a gentlemen in bearing, and who acted as a gentleman to the stranger.

When Mr. Carvosso called upon him, the chaplain expressed his warm approval of the visitor's intentions, and his desire to aid his efforts as far as possible. Aware of the brutal character of the populace, and their lawless state at that epoch of order,

he urged the necessity of the preacher securing the protection of the authorities, or his life might be in jeopardy. To this intent he was so good as to write to the chief constable, and begged him to be present at the forthcoming service.

The day arrived when the first open air discourse should be delivered in Van Diemen's Land. It was on the 18th of August, 1820. The bellman had gone through the streets of the city announcing the strange meeting, and a crowd gathered in the yard before the Court House. Standing upon the steps of the mansion of justice, he commenced by giving out one of Wesley's hymns. His wife stood beside him, raised the tune, and led off the singing. The text was from the Ephesians: "Wherefore he saith, Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." The sermon was suitable to a congregation so sunken and fallen. It came with the tones of a "Lazarus, come forth." So earnest was the appeal, that not a few, perhaps, remembered their prayers as children at a mother's knee.

He obtained permission to enter the gaol, and told the hundred and fifty inmates the story of the "Prodigal Son." On the Sunday afternoon he attended church, and saw, as he remarked afterwards, "very few persons present, except those who were driven there by civil authority." Diligent were his inquiries as to the social state of the community, and sad were his feelings at the exhibition of depravity.

Mr. Nokes, from Sydney, with Corporal Waddy,

were the originators of the Wesleyan Church in the island. Eight persons met at Mr. Nokes's house in Collins Street, for a prayer-meeting, on October 29th, 1820. Another meeting, the week after, took place at Mr. Wallis's, Liverpool Street. "Here we met with some persecution," writes Nokes; "stones and bricks being thrown by the mob, who declared they would not allow us to put the town in an uproar. Several persons attempted to annoy us by fighting in part of the house."

Doubtless, the early meetings of the Methodists were rather animated, and their loud exhortations and prayers excited a more than corresponding noise from the unsympathising mob. Without doubt, not a few of the rioters had played their part in a similar manifestation in the old country, where it was not considered bad fun to worry a Methodist, even though the poor fellow went home with a broken head.

In January, 1821, the members mustered fourteen, and the congregation to over one hundred. They met in Mr. Donne's carpenter's shop, in Argyle Street, between Liverpool and Collins Streets. A prayer-meeting of soldiers was held in Goulburn Street; Mr. Nokes was leader. This active man preached at New Norfolk, where no service had ever been held before. In September, 1821, four Wesleyan missionaries called in at Hobart Town, on their way to the South Sea Islands. The editor of the *Gazette* chronicled their visit in these orthodox terms: "We hail it as a happy omen to the success of the ministers

of the gospel who visit these young colonies, whose view of the doctrines of Scripture is orthodox, and consistent with the homilies, articles, etc., of the Established Church."

The soldiers were the mainstay of early Methodism. The Rev. Mr. Lawry wrote from Parramatta about them. "These pious soldiers," said he, "have transmitted a regular account of their numbers and proceedings to Sydney. I believe there are about twelve who meet in class." In August, 1821, the congregation raised, at one meeting, £2 15*s.* towards a new chapel. Yet they were ambitious enough, in October of that year, to solicit subscriptions from the public, as they proposed to erect a building for chapel and school in every settlement of the island.

The arrival of the Rev. W. Horton, in 1821, as a resident minister, gave his body a more steadfast character. One of his first acts was to solicit aid from Government. Two acres of land were given by Governor Sorell, though not near enough for chapel use. But Mr. David Lord gave them a block, forty yards by thirty, in Melville Street, and contributions of cash and material came in. But after getting the walls half way up, the good folks expended their means; after waiting two years, they resumed their work. The minister sadly wanted a horse to help him on his long journeys, and had to order one from Sydney, as the price in the island was so extravagantly high. In April, 1822, he had thirty-two members.

The missionary Mr. Nathaniel Turner called in at Hobart Town, in 1822, on his way to his seat of labour, and was a great help, with his fervour of spirit and affectionate manner. The Rev. R. Mansfield came from New South Wales in 1823, upon Mr. Horton's retirement, and by his intellectual vigour firmly planted the struggling Society. He solicited the Government for more substantial aid than that of a land grant. This was the reply of Colonel Sorrell, referring the matter to the Governor in Sydney :—

"The Lieut.-Governor will accordingly transmit to His Excellency the memorial which Mr. Mansfield has presented to him, with his strong testimonial of the esteem which the Wesleyan ministers have acquired from himself and the community; and his recommendation that their establishments should receive the favourable consideration of the supreme Government to the utmost that it may feel authorized to grant assistance."

When Governor Arthur came, in 1824, he proved a good friend to Wesleyans, as he was to all religious denominations. Monetary assistance was rendered, and the new chapel moved onward to completion. The reason why the Government gave aid to the Dissenters, so called, in the colonies, when granting none in England, was mainly on account of their ministers being regarded in a penal settlement as a sort of moral police. Thus the Wesleyans were the first to obtain access to Treasury favours, as they were considered auxiliaries to the Church of England. At

the organization of the Wesleyan Missionary Society, November 17th, 1823, the chaplain, the Rev. W. Bedford, presided at the meeting.

Serjeant Waddy was removed to the penal settlement of Macquarie Harbour; and his efforts were so successful in 1823, that Mr. Hutchinson, a local preacher, was ordered down there as a minister. "His Honour," wrote Mr. Mansfield, "manifested a deep concern for the moral interests of the poor outcasts." And well he might, for the associations with that place were horrible enough.

The other originator of the Wesleyan cause, Mr. Nokes, got out of joint with his old friends. He left them in no pleasant mood, took his Testaments away, and published his freedom from their Society. In January, 1823, a counter advertisement appeared in the *Gazette*:—

"The Wesleyan missionaries deem it necessary to inform the public that not the slightest connection has subsisted between them and Mr. Benjamin Nokes for upwards of six months."

So the good fall out, and so the wicked laugh on.

Launceston was visited by the Wesleyans in 1822. In a letter of April 26th, Mr. Horton wrote: "The wickedness of the people of Launceston, I am informed by an eye witness, exceeds all description. I am sure if you could behold the state of the country, and could witness the ignorance, blasphemy, drunkenness, adultery, and vice of every description which abound in it, you, and our dear friends in England,

would use every effort to send them more missionaries." Mr. Hutchinson went there from Macquarie Harbour in March, 1825. Two years after, the Launceston chapel was opened. It was forty feet by twenty. The collection was £20, and the debt on the building £150. At that time the income of the Society was £30 a year.

An influx of Wesleyan free immigrants came to Hobart Town in 1823 and 1824, chiefly through the letters of Mr. Carvosso.

The Hobart Town chapel, sixty feet long by forty broad, was not really opened till February 12th, 1826. At a meeting held in the old chapel, before removing, the attorney-general said, "I like your Society, for you are all a working people." But that meeting was memorable for the establishment of the *first public library in Australia.* A subscription was raised for the purpose. It is no small honour for the Wesleyans to be able to say that the educational movement in the colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land owed almost its commencement, and certainly its true vitality, to their efforts. Their ministers have been charged with a want of literary acquirements, when access to the national universities was denied them; but they can triumphantly point to poor children, and to working men, as the objects of their instruction.

The later days of the old times must just be noticed. Messrs. Simpson and Manton came in 1831. The latter gentleman, as a preacher and educa-

tionalist, has left honoured memorials of his presence. The Rev. W. Butters followed; but although his work began in the island, it was in the colony of Victoria where his genial nature and administrative ability were displayed, especially when the representative of Methodism there in the gold fever. For his deep interest in the prisoner boys of Port Arthur, he will be affectionately remembered by many. The Rev. John Waterhouse, the superintendent of the Wesleyan missions in the South Seas, came to Hobart Town in 1839, and died there in 1842. His faith in the Society led him to remark: "There is no better system than Wesleyanism for meeting the spiritual wants of this people." The Rev. N. Turner was nominated to a Tasmanian station in 1839. This truly excellent man died in Brisbane, Queensland.

Though less prosperous and influential than their brethren in Victoria and South Australia, the Wesleyans of Tasmania have done good service among a community that sadly needed their Christian efforts.

RISE OF PRESBYTERIANISM IN THE ISLAND.

THE Scotch of the colonies used to boast that only by immigration was their nation represented there. It is a fact that few north of the Tweed were sent out in a state of penal servitude. That is the reason why, in the old convict settlements, while the Pro-

testant Episcopal and Roman Catholic religious systems were flourishing, the Presbyterian was unknown. When, however, free emigrants were permitted to leave for Sydney and Hobart Town, and when, subsequently, encouragement in the form of grants of land was held out, Scotland, more than England and Ireland, was awakened to the opening field.

It was about 1821 and 1822 that the first considerable exodus took place. The parties were rarely of the labouring class, as the passage-money was in excess of their moderate means. They were usually men of a little capital, and were welcomed by the Government as the employers of surplus convicts. A very large proportion were from North Britain.

Though willing to roam for fairer pastures, they cherished a regard for their country's faith. When, therefore, a stray minister of the Kirk, the Rev. Archibald Macarthur came that way, he received a hearty welcome. His first sermon was preached January 12th, 1823. He appears to have belonged to the United Presbyterian Church. In a notice on the 3rd of February, we read: "As Mr. Macarthur receives no assistance from any Society at home, it is requested that those interested in the support of a gospel preacher will come forward without delay."

Subscriptions flowed in. The Governor in Chief, Sir T. Brisbane, was of the Scottish Church, and he and his lady sent £10 each. The Lieut.-Governor, Colonel Arthur, with Messrs. Turnbull, Scott,

Officer, Bethune, and Ogilvie, were among the early friends of the cause. The foundation of the new church was laid March 21st, 1824, by the Governor of the island. Dr. Turnbull, now the venerable and beloved Rev. Dr. Turnbull, of Campbelltown, addressed the assembly in his usual eloquent language. The church in Hobart Town was opened on September 12th. Land for a cemetery was granted in September, 1828.

Thus was the Presbyterian faith established in Van Diemen's Land.

But troubles came. The minister disappointed the people, and left. But one arrived singularly fitted for colonial life. The Rev. Dr. Lillie, an accredited clergyman of the Established Church of Scotland, was a gentleman of distinguished learning and splendid pulpit power. He was the real founder Presbyterianism in that colony. After labouring for thirty years with acceptance and honour, he was compelled to retire to Europe for his health.

Though by no means actuated by the denominational ardour of his Sydney friend, the Rev. Dr. Lang, he knew how to maintain the principles of religious liberty, and resent the intrusion of an element of discord among Christians.

Upon the arrival of the Anglican Bishop, Dr. Nixon, the Presbyterians were somewhat astonished to find themselves treated as Dissenters, and not as being on the same State platform with the Episcopalians of the colony. Certain letters patent granted

to the bishop, if enforced, would seriously affect their denominational status, if not their individual freedom. The head of the colonial Church of England sought such extension of powers to give him authority over his own clergy, as the compulsory citation of witnesses in his spiritual court, that an active and organized opposition to his demands was at once commenced.

In justice to the Bishop of Tasmania, it should be mentioned that the increased powers he believed so essential to his personal dignity, and the true establishment of order in his somewhat irregular Church, were never intended to interfere with the religious privileges of others, though they might indirectly affect them personally. In the fervour of episcopal zeal, and in ignorance of the different condition of things in the colonies to that existing in England, he unfortunately published a charge to his clergy, which contained passages offensive to many.

The resistance was earnest and enthusiastic. As the bishop did not further press his views, and as the most perfect liberty of action has since been granted to all religious bodies, no more need be mentioned. Dr. Nixon was no tyrant, but one of the most amiable of men, and most exemplary of bishops. Educationally trained in a school which regarded the Church of England as the only safe and true conservator of the "faith once delivered to the saints," but which differed most manifestly and widely in the interpretation of that faith, he may surely be excused

the indulgence of his early prejudices. He honestly believed in his Church, was jealous of its rights, and ambitious for its glory.

But as an important era in the history of religious freedom, the passing tumult of 1843 may be dismissed with the following copy of an appeal to the Scotch pride of faith and country. It will give the English reader a fair estimate of the progress of opinion, and may by some be regarded as an additional evidence that, in matters connected with freedom, the colonies have been uniformly greatly in advance of the mother country.

The appeal was published in the Van Diemen's Land papers, and was addressed "To the Presbyterian Inhabitants of Van Diemen's Land.

"The Bishop of Tasmania, in his recent charge, has declared his design to endeavour, by the aid of the civil power, to obtain the establishment in this colony of a Consistorial Court, and—what is obviously implied in the establishment of such a Court—the introduction of more or less of the Ecclesiastical Laws of England, so as to be able to compel even those who are not of his Communion to appear as witnesses before him.

"The same Bishop has also published the following passages in his charge :—

"'*In these shifting days, the Secretary of State may 'be a Romanist, a PRESBYTERIAN, an Unitarian, 'a Dissenter—nay, even an Unbeliever; for these are not 'the times when the State feels it a duty to watch with*

'*jealous care over the high principles of Christian truth*
'*as exhibited in the Church of England, or when*
'*soundness in the "faith once delivered to the Saints"*
'*is likely to be regarded as a necessary qualification for*
'*a minister of State.*'

"As we regard the design of establishing such a Court, and introducing such Laws in this *British* colony, in which neither the Anglican nor the Scottish Churches can legally claim any jurisdiction or precedence *whatever* over the members of the other, as altogether repugnant to our constitutional rights, as members of the Scottish Presbyterian Church of this colony, as these rights have been secured to us by the Act of Union of Great Britain—and as the publication of the above passage, in which Presbyterians are associated in one most offensive charge with Romanists, Unitarians, and unbelievers, and in which it is even avowed that for the Sovereign to appoint a Presbyterian to an office of dignity or influence, is at variance with 'the high principles of Christian faith,' and 'soundness in the faith'—is not only an insult as gross and unjust, as it is wanton and unprovoked, to every member of the Presbyterian Church, but most disparaging to the honour and rectitude of Her Majesty the Queen, who, 'though the Supreme Head and Governor of the Church of England,' has sworn to 'unalterably to preserve and maintain within the Realm of Scotland, the true Protestant Religionand Government of the *Presbyterian* Church,' and who, moreover, presides every year, by her re-

presentatives, in the Supreme Council of the same Church, in token of her Royal countenance and goodwill towards it,—We hereby submit to the Presbyterian inhabitants of the colony the great importance of taking immediate steps, by petitioning Her Majesty the Queen, to repel this unjust and disloyal insult, as well as to protect themselves against the invasion of those hard-won rights and privileges, which their ancestors have bequeathed to them, and which have already been attempted to be violated by the assumed powers of the Bishop's Letters Patent, the confirmation of which, it cannot be doubted, is one of the principal objects of his mission to England.

"We therefore most respectfully and earnestly solicit our Presbyterian Brethren throughout the colony to meet in St. Andrew's Church, Hobart Town, at 7 o'clock in the evening of Wednesday, the 12th instant, to deliberate on this important subject."

THE BAPTISTS IN AUSTRALIA.

If it were the province of the present work to speak of existing times, a flourishing account could be rendered of the position occupied by this denomination in Australia, especially in Melbourne, where the two largest chapels are crowded with worshippers. But, in the old colonial days, the Baptists occupied no place in history. A letter published in 1838, has this

passage: "I am not aware that there is a single Baptist Church with a pastor in Van Diemen's Land, Swan River, Port Phillip, or South Australia."

In Sydney, however, even then, the Rev. John Saunders, from Shacklewell, London, was preaching to an appreciating audience, and displaying much energy in every good work. In Launceston, the Rev. Mr. Dowling, who recently died at the advanced age of nearly ninety, was attached to a small Church. Being the only minister in the island till 1841, when the worthy Rev. Mr. Wade arrived in Hobart Town, his ministrations had a wide area. Eccentric in manner, but warm in affection, and generous in public effort, he became one of the most popular men on the northern side of Tasmania.

The Melbourne Baptists were long struggling into daylight. The Adelaide friends gathered at first under Mr. McLaren, in 1840, and afterwards divided into three or four small sections. Embracing in their midst opinions the most contradictory, and united only on the one subject of Baptism, the body has often been uncharitably and unjustly charged with a factious spirit in its frequent divisions.

THE FIRST INDEPENDENT MINISTER OF HOBART TOWN.

THE story of the moral history of Van Diemen's Land is so dark that it seems in vain to look for any

goodness in the country. And yet, in spite of the surges of crime and violence beating against the band of Christians there, the honest faithful ones stood firmly as if planting their foot upon a rock. Each representative body of the Church proper had many excellent characters, that appeared to shine the more brilliantly by the contrast of the evil surrounding them.

Among the first free settlers to the colony were those who became the prominent leaders of their respective denominations. Several of these were Independents. They anxiously sought a minister of their own views, having heretofore worshipped either with the Presbyterians or the Wesleyans. The foremost among them was Mr. Henry Hopkins, one of the most princely of benefactors to all objects for the elevation of humanity.

In 1830, the Rev. Frederick Miller had his attention directed to the distant land of penal servitude. The place was then associated with the worst of crimes. It was the Sodom of the southern hemisphere. It was the abode of bushrangers. It was the scene of bloodshed between naked savages and clothed ones. It was, apparently, the last retreat a man of refined feeling and sensitive nature, like Mr. Miller, would think of seeking. But the man was heroic, and consulted neither ease nor interest. The very recital of horrors but enkindled his enthusiasm. It was the more necessary that he, and such as he, should go there, and should aid the struggling few to stem the on-sweeping torrent. Favoured by the

well-known Thomas Wilson, Esq., he came to the Fern Vallies of Tasmania.

A chapel was raised. The land cost £200, the building £1400. Mr. Miller opened it in April, 1832. The few, a mere dozen or two, who formed his people contributed nobly. But when bad times came, in 1834, and a debt of £600 remained, with heavy necessities for the erection of schools and parsonage, the trustees became anxious. Other dissenting bodies had been afforded help, why should not these accept a treasury loan? At that time the particular views now entertained by Nonconformists in the colonies were not rigorously, or at least not universally, held, especially in respect to grants of land.

In 1835, a grant of £500 was made toward the liquidation of the debt on the Brisbane Street chapel. The respect in which the minister was personally held induced the Governor to place his name on the estimates for a salary of £200. The grant was accepted, for the pressure was great on the trustees; but the salary was respectfully declined on the ground of conscience. It was not long before the worthy pastor saw the mistake into which by their necessities they had been driven. He recommended that the money be repaid as soon as possible; and he took pains to represent to His Excellency that, with all becoming gratitude, the Church could not but consider themselves indebted to the State for the amount.

But years passed on without an opportunity to meet the claim. It was sufficient for the little body

to pay its way, without troubling to do more. The gold-fields gave the means. A subscription was raised, and the money respectfully tendered to the Tasmanian Government, and accepted. It is right to add that the Colonial Missionary Society reported in 1849: "In Van Diemen's Land the Churches have never been dependant on the Colonial Society. They are still sustaining their own pastors, and carrying on with energy and liberality various benevolent and evangelical labours."

Perhaps no association, for its means, accomplished so much for the general good of their fellows, as that under the pastorate of the Rev. F. Miller. He was pre-eminently a good man. His preaching was of a high order. His life was consistent with his words. Ill-health on several occasions took him from his pulpit. A total rest in a long sea-voyage being recommended, he visited England. He returned to his beloved Tasmania in 1862—to die. A verse of his own may be applied to himself:—

"If disease thy soul should darken,
Struggling in death's agonies;
Soon thy God will bid thee hearken
To the music of the skies."

The second minister of the Congregationalists was the Rev. C. Price, who established himself at Launceston. If not possessed of great pulpit power, he has endeared himself to many by his public spirit, his self-denying effort, his practical benevolence. His earnest advocacy of temperance principles was attend-

ed with success. Some years after, in 1839, the Rev. John West, now one of the leading literary men of Australia, and author of the "History of Tasmania," settled also in Launceston. The Rev. Mr. Nesbitt was stationed in Hobart Town.

The Rev. Joseph Beazley came out under the auspices of the Colonial Mission, and was established at Swanport, where, as he said, "there has been but three religious services for nine years." When the Rev. Moses Parker died in 1843, he removed to Greenponds. There his fruitful ministrations produced a healthy effect, and will long be remembered. Most interesting illustrations of success over rude settlers, and degraded convicts, might be given. He subsequently occupied a more important sphere in Sydney, and is now the popular minister of Blackheath, London.

STATE OF MORALS IN THE EARLY DAYS.

To the reader it may seem as absurd to speak of morals in a convict settlement as of virtue in a gaol. The condition of Van Diemen's Land, may be conjectured from a speech delivered in Parliament by Sir James Macintosh. "The settlement," said he, "can never be worse than it is now, where no attempt towards reformation is dreamed of, and when it is governed on principles of political economy more barbarous than those which prevailed under Queen Bess."

As the population originally consisted of persons transported from Britain, with a sufficient number of military and civilians to maintain order and govern the colony, the presence of crime is less to be wondered at than the existence of any virtue at all. While the criminals in England have averaged one in a thousand of the people, they formed in Van Diemen's Land one in 101 in 1824; 95 in 1825: 96 in 1826; 104 in 1827; 126 in 1831; 96 in 1832; 62 in 1833, etc. In England, crimes against persons are as one in thirty to crimes against property. In the penal colony, such were one to two in 1824; one to four in 1825; one to five in 1827; one to six in 1828; one to seven in 1829; one to four in 1830; one to two in 1832; one to seven in 1833; one to four in 1834.

Until the time of Governor Sorell, there was no secure night asylum for the convicts employed by Government, who were thus at liberty to prey upon the well disposed. In like manner, the female convicts, upon arrival, found rations of food awaiting them, but no place of shelter for the night; that had to be procured how and where it could. The insecurity was serious. A tradesman has told me of his keeping loaded pistols under his counter, to defend himself from attacks in the day-time. The night after the burial of the leading merchant of Hobart Town, the silver plate was stolen from the coffin. A letter of 1825, says, "The gaol of Launceston is so crowded that there is scarcely room for the prisoners to lie down at night."

In 1822, the governor thought it advisable to establish a Government bakery in Hobart Town. The chief commissary officer, Mr. Moodie, objected to it on these grounds: "With regard to a public bakery, I am also well convinced, from the character of the persons it would be found necessary to employ, and from the judgment I am able to form by experience, that in such an establishment, at the present moment, it would be next to an impossibility to prevent fraud and robbery." Captain Cheyne, Inspector of Public Works, referred to the existence of "a fearful degree of depravity, unparalleled in any age;" while an English clergyman called the island "that den of thieves, that cave of robbers, that cage of unclean birds, that isthmus between earth and hell."

It is singular that while the officials in the early days were so indifferent to public morals, and were almost wholly living in a state of concubinage, a strange solicitude was sometimes paraded about the sanctity of the Sabbath. In the muster roll of February 3rd, 1810, I read the following:—

"The detachment will attend Divine service to-morrow morning at the usual hour, during the performance of which the patrole will apprehend all persons found moving about the town; they will be taken to the guard house, where they will remain until further directions are given about them."

An order dated, May 14th, 1813, from the anti-temperate Governor Davey, directs that all persons

neglecting to send their men to church, if near enough, will be deprived of assigned servants. In January, 1817, a man was stated to have been fined a pound, "for profaning the Sabbath-day, by driving a cart and bullocks loaded with sawn timber through the streets of Hobart Town." At that time scarcely a single official attended public worship, drinks was sold by prostitutes for the benefit of officers, and not one in ten of the law administrators was living with a wife! The year before, bakers were prohibited making bread, cakes, or rolls on Sunday. A proclamation of 1822 arrests on that day the movement of carriers, drovers, and wagoners, prohibits killing by butchers, and baking by bakers, and allows the milkman to cry his fluid only before nine and after four o'clock. All such practices are curiously spoken of as "profanations of the Lord's-day, vulgarly and improperly called Sabbath-breaking."

The marriage contract was not so strictly enforced. Sales of wives, public and private, were common. One of some attractions brought her owner fifty ewes; another, five pounds and a gallon of rum; a third, twenty ewes and a gallon of rum. Of the last named, in 1817, the paper remarks, "From the variety of bidders, had there been any more in the market the sale would have been pretty brisk." It is related that the gentleman who made the hundred sheep bargain, did not gain much in his purchase, for his new property plagued him so much as to drive him into the mad-house.

Marriages were not very frequent in those times. In 1817, the chaplain united a couple; of whom it is written, "Their united ages being 137 years, who can possibly account for the all-prevailing charms of love?" While no impediment existed to the formation of unhallowed associations, marriages could not be sanctioned without a Government stamped order.

Some of the early advertisements afford a curious insight to the state of society. There was an announcement like this, in 1817: "A mutual separation having this day been entered into between me and my wife ———, I do hereby, for the last time, caution —— giving further trust." Another will not be responsible for a wife's debts, as she had eloped from her home, leaving the complainant with her five small children.

Another ill-used man has a long story to tell in December, 1818. It runs thus: "Notice. Whereas my wife, Jane ———, is again walked away with herself, without any Provocation whatever, and, I hear, has taken up with a Fellow who looked after cattle in the neighbourhood of Macquarie river. This is to give Notice, that I will not pay for bite nor sup, or for any other thing she may contract on my Account to man or mortal; and that I am determined to prosecute with the utmost rigor the Law will admit, any Person or Persons who may harbour, conceal, or maintain the said Runaway, Jane ———, after the Publication of this Advertisement."

Old George told me that, in his youthful days in the colony, there was "not a modest woman there." It is to be feared that in his society such may have been the case. Jorgenson, referring to a distant period, gives the most expressive evidence of the low state of morals, when he says, "The married women at that time kept company with concubines." And yet the Sydney editor, in 1822, exclaimed: "We feel pleasure in being able to pronounce upon the amazing growth of morality in Van Diemen's Land. Religion is bearing away all before it, shouting, 'Victory! victory!'" Yet that very year, Mr. Commissioner Bigge reported the official respect for virtue thus: "These vices are encouraged by the state of prostitution in which the women who are sent to George Town live with the male convicts."

That which was so fertile a source of vice was the numerical disproportion of the sexes. Very few women came out as prisoners in the early times. After a while, some good people in England sought to rectify the evil by the shipment of free, but destitute, young women. The selection could not have been happy. A dozen, sent out by a religious society, were christened by the sailors, "The twelve apostles." Dr. Cunningham informs us of "a goodly proportion of that chosen band being found in a matronly way by the reverend inspector, who visited them on arrival."

One of the female immigrants wrote thus to a friend in England: "Out of two hundred and sixty-eight that came out with me, I verily believe that there

were not more than twenty who have any claim to a good name, being driven to the most wretched and loathsome debauchery." It is a sad fact that the first woman executed in the colony was one who had murdered a child she had by a Government officer.

When the Government continued to pour convicts upon the devoted island, in spite of the protestations of the free and emancipated inhabitants, who wished for some more moral atmosphere for their children, the social evils increased, and the hope of the colonists declined. Petitions were presented, in 1835, against this terrible scourge. The Anti-Transportation League was subsequently organized; and an active opposition was presented to the impolitic, unchristian, and inhuman act of the British Government. Petitions to parliament, and memorials from Tasmanian mothers to the Queen, were alike disregarded; the fairest of isles was to be, apparently, doomed as the dust-hole of Britain for ever. Nothing but the inexorable logic of events in the Australian gold discovery stayed the hand of the moral destroyer of Tasmania. When Bill Sykes wrote of the country:—

"Where you can either dig gold yourself, like me,
Or, if you don't like that, vy you can bone from them as does;"

it was time to suspend the transmission of felons to Tasmania.

The disproportion of the sexes varied in years, and greatly differed according to condition and locality. Thus, we find that, in 1834, the relation of males to females in Hobart Town and Launceston was as 7

to 5 among the free, and $3\frac{2}{3}$ to 1 among the bond. But in the sparsely populated agricultural districts, where male labour only was required, the proportion was remarkably different; being as 5 to 3 with the free, and 17 to 1 with the bond. In the whole island, of 40,283 persons, 11,482 were females.

One sad consequence of this disproportion was the exposure of women to unwonted temptation and to atrocious violence. Free women, and girls of colonial families, were often severely tried, and their moral sense was blunted by the tone of society. When female emigrants were shipped off from England by the philanthropic efforts of Mrs. Fry and her friends, in the hope of correcting the evil of the island, and finding homes for destitute or ill-supported girls, the only immediate perceptible effect was a vast increase of prostitution in the streets of Hobart Town.

But the darkest shade has yet to be revealed. It would not be honest in the historian to be silent about one evil that pre-eminently cursed the penal settlements of Australia and Van Diemen's Land, and resulting less from the paucity of females than the brutal sensuality of men of crime, herded in masses together, still further to corrupt each other. By no means unfrequent in the older colonial days, the vice of the sunken cities of the plain prevailed more under the congregated Probation System than in the times of the general assignment of convicts.

The Rev. Dr. Ullathorne, once Vicar General of New Holland and Van Diemen's Land, and now the

Roman Catholic Bishop of Birmingham, alludes to the immorality in these solemn words:—

"There is another class of crime, too frightful even for the imagination of other lands; which St. Paul, in detailing the vices of the heathen, had not contemplated; which were unknown to the savage, until taught by the convict—crimes which are notorious—crimes that, dare I describe them, would make your blood to freeze, and your hairs to rise erect in horror upon the pale flesh." When examined before a committee of the House of Commons, in 1838, and an allusion was made to his expression, he replied: "I have such an intense conscientious feeling upon that subject, and of the results of those evils, in the thorough breaking up of the moral man, which ensues from this crime, that I would do anything that is lawful,—I would even deliberately give my life, if I could in any manner lawfully contribute toward the removal of that evil."

And yet Tasmania has now a larger proportion of church-going people than England, a much larger number of Sabbath-school attendants, and a degree of active benevolence, social prosperity, and even moral development, that surprises even thoughtful colonists themselves.

STRONG DRINK IN VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

THE story of drunkenness in the first penal settlement is continued in the history of the second, at the

Derwent. It is the same record of debauchery, disease, crime, and death. The editor of a Hobart Town paper declared, "One half of those that die in the colony at the present time—perish directly or indirectly through drunkenness." A higher percentage was given to me by an old chaplain. As was remarked of a certain magistrate by a convict servant, so might it be said of many, "When spirits were plenty, he was generally indisposed."

Jorgenson, who was not guiltless of worshipping Bacchus, wrote, "I remember when I arrived here first, the public-houses were filled with convicts, night and day, tippling, gambling, and concocting robberies. It was often dangerous to walk the streets in daytime." A party of six emancipists drank at one sitting in a tavern seven bottles of sherry and forty-one bottles of porter. Fat Katherine and Carrotty Kit undertook in a drunken frolic to swim the Derwent for a wager of rum. The whole colony was drunk together for weeks under one of the early Governors. Drink killed the hangman in 1818. Even one of the first Governors was styled, for his drunken habits, "Mad Davey." Women sold grog for the officers, as in Sydney. The historian, the Rev. John West, has truly said, "The connection between ardent spirits and the early disorders of our penal colonies, is patent at every step of their progress."

Mr. Commissioner Bigge was not a little surprised to find the Hobart Town authorities making the payment of constables in rum, instead of money. Every

quarter an allowance was served out at the rate of a quart of spirits for each week. This, observed the reporter, was the "cause of much intoxication," besides seriously interfering with legitimate trade; as the constables became grog-sellers. Though the amount was subsequently reduced to a pint a week, the evil was denounced, and ultimately changed to a cash payment in addition to clothes and rations. The drunkenness of the period is thus indicated in the official paper: "The return of coroner's inquests exhibit the fatal consequences of these excesses."

Distillation was not allowed till 1822. The first distillery was erected that year at the Cascades, near Hobart Town; it was subsequently converted to the punishment factory of female prisoners.

The *licence* system followed the instructions of the Sydney Government. In the early days it was little heeded. An order, in 1813, condemned sly grog selling. Very little liquor was required to commence business. Several establishments owned but a couple of gallons of rum to start with, but were soon able to increase their stock. Beer licences were distinct from spirit ones; the latter, in 1823, paid as much as £30 annually.

Governor Macquarie issued this order on March 3rd, 1818:—

"His Excellency the Governor, with a view to restrain the immoderate use of spirituous liquors, and to add to the resources of Government by the increase

of the duty paid on spirits, is pleased to order and direct, that from henceforth a duty of ten shillings per gallon," etc. A duty, also, of sixpence a pound, was levied on tobacco. But the increase of public-houses at one time seems to have been declared the cause of drunkenness, judging by the command of October 16th, 1819: "It is hereby notified that no increase in the number [*of licences*] in Hobart Town will be sanctioned during the current year." It was reserved for more modern enlightenment in England to discover that the multiplication of such houses tended to sobriety! A great increase of licences subsequently took place. An Indian visitor to Hobart Town, in 1829, observes, "A stranger is much struck by the number of signs of taverns."

The primitive hotels and publicans may be seen in the list of 1818: "H. S. Stocker, Derwent Hotel; G. Armitage, Plough; J. Ransom, Carpenter's Arms; J. Lord and J. Clark, Dusty Miller; C. Connelly, Bricklayer's Arms; F. Barnes, Hope; J. Eddington, Bird-in-Hand; Maria Serjeant, Calcutta; John Fergusson, ——; J. L. Richardson, New Inn; R. Wallis, Cat and Fiddle; G. Hopwood, City of London Arms."

An order was issued, in 1819, against the retail of spirits to stock-keepers for kangaroo skins; a "practice highly detrimental to good order, tending to encourage drunkenness and neglect of their duty in the stockmen, and to occasion loss of property to their employers."

The first Temperance Society was established by

the two Quaker missionaries, Messrs. Backhouse and Walker, in 1832; the Total Abstinence Society followed a few years after.

FEMALE PRISONERS OF VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

WHILE so little provision for the moral safety, let alone progress, of female convicts existed in New South Wales, in old colonial days, it is not to be expected that the subordinate Government of Van Diemen's Land could be heedful of the virtues. When England, the reputed land of Protestant purity and light, could cast off her badly trained, neglected, ignorant, and unfortunate daughters, with no more thought of them on that dreadful voyage, and their state in that home of crime, than she had for them when under the shadow of her churches, one cannot be surprised at the indifference of naval and military officers, living in batchelor freedom at a penal settlement the other side of the world.

The tale of the voyage to Van Diemen's Land is like that told of the transports to Botany Bay, so-called. Although wooden barriers to the women's quarters were erected at starting, they were soon removed in many cases; and, as one observed, "The ship was free from the cabin to the forecastle." The Rev. John West, a judicious historian, thus chronicles the incidents of such a voyage:—

"Both male and female prisoners were commonly

forwarded together: the officers and soldiers selected companions for the voyage, and a sentence of transportation included prostitution. It is not incredible that modest women rejected life on such terms, and preferred a public execution to the ignominy of a floating brothel. These practices were first tolerated, and afterwards justified as politic."

Captain Bertram spoke from experience when narrating the horrors of such a passage. After showing that the officers had the right of selection, he proceeds:—"The unhappy male convicts are denied, save occasionally, these profligate liberties. Occasionally, however, they range into the quarters assigned to the women. The males, accustomed in London to indiscriminate licence, discover the greatest regret at the restraint of their passions, in the grossest oaths and in the coarsest language. The females, who rather resemble the brutes than rational creatures in their excesses, answer their reproaches and rage with equal effrontery and unbounded impudence. It is a scene like pandemonium,—a second hell.

More than once, a mutiny has burst forth, and lives have been lost, because of this neglect of the moral laws. On one occasion, a ship containing female convicts, called the *Jane Shore*, appropriately enough, was placed in such circumstances. The women having free access both to the sailors and the military guard, corrupted both, and seduced them from their loyalty. They persuaded them to go to South America, and lead there a life of joviality and

freedom. The captain was the only dissentient to the proposition, and a pistol shot removed the mutineers from his arguments. The vessel was then steered to the coast of Brazil. Mr. Commissioner Bigge reported that "all the evils that unrestrained intercourse could produce, existed in their full extent in the voyage of the *Janus* from England."

The excellent Captain Browning was the first to call public attention to this monstrous state of things. His soul was so stirred within him that, finding remonstrance with officials unavailing, he published the story, and called aloud for Christian help. In later days, a change took place. Suitable ships were provided, officers of trust were selected, and a committee of benevolent London ladies watched the departure of the poor creatures, after providing them with many comforts for their bodies, and food for the sustenance of their souls.

When the women came ashore, they were in the early times left to shift for themselves, to find what lodgings they could, and the protection that was nearest. If favourable in personal appearance, a home was not long wanting. Drunkenness was then the curse of the island, scarcely any religious teaching or moral lessons could be found, and the women were left to drift onward and onward in their vicious career.

Thefts and disorders multiplied under such a system. The prison was well supplied with female inmates. But there only male warders attended them, and the ship rule was continued on shore. The

females did not work, and spent their idle hours in converse with their gaol-guardians, who were, in most instances, prisoners like themselves.

As their town lovers followed them to the scene of their confinement, and cast over the wall sundry articles that were opposed to ordinary ideas of discipline, it became necessary to have an extra enclosure to the penitentiary, to remove to a distance the importunate and attentive swains.

Goodridge, the runaway sailor, in his amusing autobiography, has something to say upon the women convicts. "Previous to Governor Arthur's time," said he, "a frequent punishment inflicted on females was the placing of an iron collar round their neck, on each side of which was a long prong, which gave them the appearance of horned cattle; and with this head-dress, they were exposed in church during service." Certainly this was one mode of gathering a congregation.

One writer exposes an evil of former existence, when describing the practice of the authorities on the island making their selection of the fairest of their captives. "Among the anomalies of the day," declares this minister, "was the release of such females from compulsory attendance on Divine worship, on account of the official preference they enjoyed—a curious immunity from a penal obligation; to be taken, perhaps, as a sinister acknowledgment that the Government was not insensible to virtue,—as the Russian courtesan extinguishes the candle of ceremony, and veils her patron saint."

When Mr. Commissioner Bigge presented his report to the House of Commons, he had the following passage upon this sad subject:—"The female convicts, for want of any separate room in the prison, were placed in a small wooden hut, near the blacksmith's forge, now converted into a church, and a constable was placed over them to prevent their escape. This mode of punishment was found so inefficient, that latterly the female convicts were sent to George Town, where they cohabited with the Government convicts." When female servants were turned into the Hobart Town factory, from country places, they were forwarded through the bush, on foot, by constables. Mr. Murdock knew women on the way to town lodged in some country watch-house, with male convicts, for the night. And yet Mrs. Fry found matters nearly as bad in connection with borough gaols in England not many years ago.

Even within the author's experience of the colony, the female factory, from which women were hired for service in private families, had some forbidding aspects. It was the seat of idleness, the resort of the vicious. The atmosphere was polluted with the fumes of tobacco smoked by the women; and the walls echoed with the shrieks of passion, the peals of foolish laughter, and oaths of common converse. The beginners in the walks of vice associated with the abandoned veterans of crime.

To such a place were convict servants sent when a situation was closed against them by a change of

helps. Often the woman found her home too restrained, and sufficient liberty not afforded for the indulgence of her habits Then neglect of work, or unwonted stupidity and recklessness, would induce her mistress to *turn her in.* A paramour could then go with all confidence to the depot, and engage her as his *servant.* Publicans, at one time, were not permitted the indulgence of hiring from the factory, but the great increase of female convicts induced the Government to remove this restriction. Questions were not troublesome when the authorities were plagued with a host of these unmanageable, idle women. The statement of good authorities must be accepted, however shocking the story, that cases not unfrequently occurred where the master employed his assigned servant as a prostitute, and reaped the wages of her deeper degradation.

Earlier marriages, after arrival in the colony, would have prevented much of the evil. But if permitted to marry as soon as landed from the vessel, the cause of order may have suffered in Britain; for crime would thus appear the means of advancement in life. Women were, however, permitted to marry after being one year in penal service. Even this was thought too great an indulgence, and the time was extended to three years, with manifest effect upon colonial morals. Governor Arthur, when examined by a parliamentary committee in London, ventured to say: "If it did not tend to the promotion of crime in this country, I should strongly advise that they were

permitted to marry as soon as they arrived in the colony."

Married women were sometimes followed by their husbands, to whom they were assigned as servants. They often got on the widows' list by getting a letter posted in England, though written in the colony, conveying the affecting intelligence of a husband's death at a certain time. Such a letter, presented to the authorities, was used as the passport to procure an escape from Government bondage, under the protection of a colonial husband.

Who would not wonder at such a record of the past, when going through the orderly streets, and beholding the well-filled churches of modern Tasmania!

FIRST SCHOOLS IN VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

THE educationalist of the present day cannot but feel interested in the buddings of the scholastic system amidst a new community. Certainly no romantic associations are connected with the commencement of instruction in the island of the south, whatever those be, or supposed to be, with the development of bush-ranging.

As the public news of the colony can hardly be said to have started till 1816, we are left to grope in the shades of tradition for information before that date. A lady, who came out as a child with the first settlers, informed me that her education was obtained

under considerable difficulties; and that, from want of suitable materials, she practised her writing lessons in sand, as the lads and lasses of the Sahara do to this day. She became, however, *sufficiently* accomplished to become a teacher herself afterwards. One Jane Noel (?) is thought to have been the first recognised intructor of youth in Van Diemen's Land. She came down from Sydney, and opened her hut as a school; it was seen a little off Collins Street. The first regular boys' school was begun by Mr. Fitzgerald, in Davey Street. It is highly honourable to the gentle sex that woman was the earliest teacher of the young in both the penal settlements of Sydney and Hobart Town. And who so suitable in that dark day of ignorance and crime as she?

The chaplain, Mr. Knopwood, however negligent of some of his duties, did appear to have lent some assistance to those who endeavoured to enlighten the darkness of the south. But it was not until the Wesleyans organized their religious community that any substantial effort was made. Their first visiting minister resuscitated a feeble Sunday-school, and established both day and Sunday-schools in Argyle Street, and among the soldiers' families in the barracks. The Rev. Robert Knopwood headed the list of subscriptions gathered by the Wesleyans for this laudable object.

The earliest advertisement of a school appears in the *Hobart Town Gazette*, June 6th, 1818:—

"A young man, who has a few leisure hours in the

evening, wishes to devote his time to the instruction of eight young men in writing and arithmetic. Terms moderate. Apply to the printer for the address."

In the papers of 1818, I found two interesting notices. One in June 12th runs thus: "Michael Donnelly, Bathurst Street, begs leave to inform the inhabitants of Hobart Town and its vicinity, that he has opened a school, where youth of both sexes will be diligently and carefully instructed in reading, writing, and arithmetic. He, also begs to intimate that he will open an evening school on Monday next, which will begin at 6 o'clock and close at 9 o'clock."

The official work of the chaplain appears in the paragraph of September 11th, 1819: "The number of children who are now instructed in Hobart Town and in the most populous districts, amounts, by the lists received by the Rev. Mr. Knopwood, M.A., for the present month, to one hundred and sixty-four." These were all then under instruction, both in private and public schools, in Van Diemen's Land. One cannot be surprised, therefore, at the ignorance which prevailed among the native-born population of the island. When, some twenty years after, I arrived in that colony I had many opportunities of discovering, in the lamentable scholastic deficiencies of grown-up people, the serious want of means which had existed in their early days.

A superior school was announced on December 2nd, 1820. This establishment, opposite the Hobart Town

Scots' Church, is thus announced: "Miss Jane Miller begs leave to inform the inhabitants that she intends to open a school on Monday next, the 4th instant, at her father's residence in Bathurst Street, for the instruction of young ladies; where the greatest attention will be paid to such as are entrusted to her care." At the close of that year is the declaration of "The French language taught by Mr. Gibson, who has resided in France." That same Christmas-time appeared two other notifications of interest. The first is by a lady:—

"Mrs. Speed, at present in Sydney, and Miss Speed, recently arrived from England, intend as soon as possible after the ensuing Christmas holidays to commence a boarding-school and seminary at Hobart Town, for instructing young ladies in every polite and useful accomplishment. Mrs. Speed's qualifications and respectability are well known by every person of consequence in Sydney."

A gentleman advertised at the same time as follows: "Mr. Headlam, from London, begs leave respectfully to inform the public that he intends to open school on the 1st of January next, for the instruction of day-scholars, who will be taught grammatically the English and Latin language, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping, etc., and the useful branches of the mathematics."

This was the introduction of the classics into the colony. Mrs. Headlam, on December 23rd, 1820, intimated the commencement of a boarding-school

for half a dozen young ladies. The terms were fifty guineas a year, quarterly payments in advance. The day pupils paid ten guineas. Mrs. T. Stone's academy, and Mr. Hobson's Davey Street school were about that date.

Schools for poor children were few in number, and sadly mismanaged. The want of educated free persons compelled the authorities to place those institutions under the care of persons whose intellectual acquirements exceeded the brilliancy of their moral faculties. One school in Hobart Town, in 1820, was attended by thirty-five boys and twenty-four girls. Two other schools in the town had been conducted by convicts, who were both dismissed for criminal offences. There were three others in the country placed under convict teachers. Altogether, one hundred and fifty children were provided with instruction in the public schools. On the northern side of the island the darkness is made thus visible by Mr. Commissioner Bigge, in 1820. "At Launceston," says he, "the schoolmaster paid by the local Government was both incompetent from age, and disqualified by habit."

The schools were under no supervision, unless that of the chaplain be supposed. The low state of morals in the colony accounted for the presence of drunkards, and men of worse vices, as teachers of boys and girls together. As to mode of communicating instruction, it was left to the individual who ruled in the class-room. The first dawn of day appeared in a Government notice of July 14th, 1821:—

"His Majesty has been pleased to make the following appointments, Mr. Peter Archer Mulgrave, to be superintendent of the public schools, in Van Diemen's Land, for the purpose of introducing Dr. Bell's system of education generally throughout the settlements in that island."

After a fashion this monitorial system of the national school was introduced. I saw it in use there in 1841. But little beyond the mere mechanical arrangements could be observed; the vitality of that system was wanting, and the old cry of unsuitable agents was still raised.

One of the serious obstacles to progress lay in the deficiency of school materials. The *Gazette* of August 25th, 1821, gives hope of relief; saying, "A small primer for the use of children on their first going to school will be published in a few days at the printing office. Price 2*s.* to be paid for on delivery." This was brave news to the perplexed teacher. Even so late as 1824, Mavor's Spelling Book sold at four shillings. When the Wesleyan ministers, Messrs. Horton and Turner, visited Hobart Town in October, 1822, they advertised their concern at the want of books, and their willingness to get out some from home at a little more than English rates. But why should such a duty be assumed by sympathising Wesleyan visitors, when a Church establishment was supported, and a superintendent of public schools was drawing a salary?

In 1822, however, an advance was made. A cen-

tral Government school was established in Liverpool Street, Hobart Town, and Mr. Bostock appointed teacher. A public notice, in 1822, also commanded all schoolmasters to attend the annual muster, to give an account of the number of children under their care. A brick building was erected at New Norfolk, and another at Clarence Plains, to be used for worship as well as school.

Private institutions kept pace. Mr. Stone opened for boarders at £40, Mrs. Garrett for girls, Mrs. Darley for evening pupils. Mr. Rodd taught French, Latin, and fencing, in Liverpool Street. Mr. Evan Thomas commenced to teach. But the great announcement, at the close of 1822, was the organization of an establishment under Mr. Thomson, from Edinburgh. His fees were four guineas a quarter. A class for girls was held in the recess from 12 to 2. Not a few of the respectable inhabitants of Tasmania honour the memory of this early instructor. For many years the boarding-school of Mrs. G. C. Clark, at Ellenthorpe Hall, near Ross, was the favourite, as it was the most respectable seminary for young ladies. At the time of the Black War, when exposed to the attacks of savages, or the more dangerous assault of white bushrangers, a special guard of soldiers was stationed near for the protection of the fair ladies, and the prevention of any disturbance at their studies.

In the account of Government expenses for the quarter ending September 30th, 1823, the following items occur:—Schoolmasters, £40 13*s.* 10*d.*; rent

£41; travelling expenses of the superintendent and two teachers, £15 3*s.*; forage for the superintendent, £10; allowance for the removal of master from Bagdad to Sorell, £5; and the building of a school-house at Glenorchy, £83. The celebrated King's Orphan School, at New Town, near Hobart Town, was formed, in 1828, under the management of Mr. R. W. Giblin. Schools were early opened at Pittwater, Black Brush, Old Beach, George Town, Glenorchy, the Plenty, Kangaroo Point, Clarence Plains, New Norfolk, as well as at Launceston and Hobart Town; though, at one time, out of the eleven, four were vacant for want of teachers. Mrs. Powell had a private school on Norfolk Plains, Mrs. Midwood, at Hobart Town, and Mrs. Kirk, at Launceston.

It is unnecessary in treating of early times to pursue the story. A liberal change was made in 1840, when the schools were declared to be no longer under the clergy of the Church of England; and a board of education was organized, embracing men of various shades of opinion. Dr. Turnbull was the most vigorous and able friend to public instruction in those days. Teachers were sent for from England, and new life was imparted to the Government schools. The vicissitudes since have been owing to the struggles between the denominational and unsectarian parties for the predominance of their respective views. Such contests were no more easily to be settled in the colonies than in England and Ireland.

The friends of SUNDAY-SCHOOLS may wish a word about those institutions in Van Diemen's Land.

As has been mentioned, Mr. Leigh, though not absolutely commencing Sunday-schools, may justly be regarded as the strong friend in their feeble existence. An advertisement in the *Hobart Town Gazette* of May 13th, 1821, gives the earliest public notice of the institution. It is there declared that Mr. Benjamin Nokes (one of the founders of Tasmanian Methodism) would open a Sunday-school in the meeting-house of Argyle Street. The high moral character was paraded in the information, "There will be a strict examination of the teachers;" a very necessary work at that time. We are further told that there would be "book distributions every quarter."

This Mr. Nokes, after introducing the Wesleyan polity into the island, fell out with his old friends. He even advertised, in January, 1853, his total separation in these words: "Mr. B. Nokes, the founder of this great institution (Sunday-schools) in this colony, begs leave to inform his friends and the public, that his schools and Testaments are wholly unconnected with the Methodists. It is a leading feature of this undertaking that Christians of every denomination are invited to be instructed." The Methodists must have felt the withdrawal of the Testaments more than of the teacher. But the following interesting quotation from the *Hobart Town Gazette* of December, 1816, gives another interesting Sabbath-school announcement.

"On Sunday, the 29th instant, Mr. Robert Kennie intends opening a school for the reception of youth

of both sexes, when his utmost exertion will be to train up the children in the way they should go. *N.B.* The children will regularly attend every Sunday immediately after Divine service, and bring their books with them."

THE FIRST POST-OFFICE IN HOBART TOWN.

In the primitive days it was the custom to go on board vessels to obtain letters. This gave rise to much disorder, and induced Governor Collins to establish the first post-office of Van Diemen's Land.

The order is dated April 25th, 1809, and is directed from "Head-quarters." After the preamble about improper visits to ships, there is this arrangement made:—

"On the arrival of any vessel, Mr. Nichols (naval officer) or any person properly authorized by him, is to repair on board and to require that all letters and parcels directed for the colony be delivered to him, for which he is to give a receipt to the master, mate, or supercargo. An office for their reception shall be established at his house; and in consideration of the trouble and expense attendant on this duty, the following sum shall be charged by him on their delivery: viz. for every letter one shilling; for every parcel not exceeding 20lbs. weight, two shillings and sixpence; and for all exceeding that weight, five shillings: a list to be published in the *Gazette* of the

names of persons whose letters and parcels are directed," etc.

In 1828, however, the writer of the *Hermit* speaks of paying four shillings at the office for two letters from England.

A weekly messenger carried letters from Hobart Town to the Coal River and Pittwater, a few miles from town. On October 23rd, 1816, this important notice appeared in the *Hobart Town Gazette:* "His Honor the Lieutenant-Governor is pleased to appoint Robert A. Taylor, Government messenger between this settlement and Port Dalrymple. R. A. Taylor is to leave either Hobart Town or Launceston every Sunday morning alternately."

The two places were above one hundred and twenty miles apart. No road existed. The country was very mountainous and scrubby. Bushrangers and hostile natives beset the traveller in the bush. But the postman was required to take only a week to convey letters from one place to the other. One Robert Elliot, whom I knew ten years ago, and who was then seventy-four years of age, gave me an account of his desperate adventures when he was occupied as a messenger. He carried the letters and packets in a knapsack; and, armed with a heavy musket, had often done the journey in two days and a half.

On November 16th, 1816, an official postal declaration is thus made: "A letter-bag is now open for the reception of letters for the brig *Spring*, for England, which will sail on or about the first of March next.

The postmaster gives this early notice, that the public may have an opportunity of corresponding with their friends in Europe. Letters lying at the post office—Mrs. Mary Ham, Mr. W. T. Roberts, Ann Wilson, and Zenophon Hearn Bashan.

JAMES MITCHELL, *Postmaster.*"

Now, with a beautiful building, and with all the modern appliances for the distribution of letters, Hobart Town presents another appearance to that of the letter bag and the four unclaimed letters.

Instead of a fortnightly transmission of correspondence, a weekly post to Launceston was established in April, 1817. Instead of starting on the Sunday, the authorities ordered, in May, 1818, that the messenger should leave on the Monday. This continued to be a weekly walk till 1820.

A second notice of the brig *Spring* occurs in the Gazette of January 10th, 1818. It is slightly altered from the other. "The brig *Spring* affording a desirable opportunity for those who wish to write to their friends in Europe, the postmaster respectfully informs the public that a mail bag is open for the reception of letters, and will continue so until the eve of her departure."

The change of the postmaster's abode, at the end of January, 1818, called for this notice: "Mr. James Mitchell, Postmaster, respectfully acquaints the public that he has removed from his late residence in Macquarie Street, to the house previously occupied by

Mr. Robley, in Collins Street, where he requests all persons may in future send and call for their letters."

Postmen assumed uniform in August, 1821, and an alphabetical list of unclaimed letters was proposed by Mr. Postmaster Collicott, in January, 1823. The *Courier*, in September, 1828, suggested an improved mode of carriage, viz., a one-horse chaise, with relays of horses.

THE FIRST NEWSPAPER IN VAN DIEMEN'S LAND.

THE colony of Van Diemen's Land was formed in 1804. It was dependent on New South Wales for government and for supplies. Laws, provisions, and population were sent down to the Derwent from Sydney. But though the parent settlement contrived to get through the first fifteen years of its existence without a local press, the younger and subordinate penal establishment succeeded in lighting a taper of intelligence within six years of its birth.

The *Derwent Star* first shone forth in 1810. It proved to be a luminary that came to visit our earth for a season, and then passed away for ever. I have been fortunate enough to peruse some numbers of this early periodical. It was very humble in appearance, and unpretending in claim. When examining the files of the primitive press of New South Wales, I met with a short notice of the first Tasmanian paper. The *Sydney Gazette*, of September 1st, 1810, noticed

its existence thus: "The *Derwent Star* is a neat production, printed every fortnight, on a quarto size." The subscription was placed at two pounds a year, and the cost of a copy at two shillings. The Sydney editor, himself supported by the Government, took the opportunity of extolling the virtue of the authorities. He wrote: "The production of a periodical press in an infant sister-settlement, must convey to the mind a strong idea of its rapid progress, and of the energy of our liberal Government in countenancing and supporting such exertions as are laudable and beneficial in their tendency."

The want of communication in those times between places now connected by a couple of days' steam, and immediately united by the telegraph, accounts for the ignorance of the Sydney press of what had been going on at Hobart Town *several months* before. The Port Jackson writer was not learned even in the geography of the little island, as in October, 1810, he speaks of "Launceston *near* Hobart Town;" though 125 miles distant.

The full title of the first paper was, *The Derwent Star and Van Diemen's Land Intelligencer*. It consisted of a quarto leaf, and maintained a flickering light during most of the year 1810. Politics were, of course, absolutely excluded. Anecdotes and English news formed its staple commodity. The first number gave the following Van Diemen's Land intelligence, conveyed in a manner characteristic of the free-living days of the infant settlement.

"On Monday, 26th ultimo, R. C. Burrows to Elizabeth Tucker, both late of Norfolk Island. They had cohabited together fourteen years, verifying the old adage *better late than never.*"

A little story may be told, to illustrate the difficulties besetting the path of the chronicler of early colonial history.

When in Sydney, hunting up official records, I was met with this reply, when asking for papers of part of a certain year: "We have none; they appear to have been wilfully destroyed." When in Hobart Town upon the same errand, I noticed the absence of all public records from the foundation of the colony to 1811. I was informed that when Governor Collins died suddenly in his chair, in 1810, two officers of state placed soldiers at the door of the apartment, and busied themselves in burning *all* the papers.

One document escaped destruction, as it was then at the barracks. This was the *Muster Roll;* it contained, beside the parole and countersign, the General Orders of Government. It is quarto in size, with a strong binding, and is written in a very good hand. But even this had suffered from some interested Vandal, as the pages between 1804 and May 4th, 1808, had been cut out and removed.

Mr. Bent's Van Diemen's Land Almanac, published in 1829, gathers up the traditions of the colony respecting the literary ventura. This is the interesting statement:—

"A little newspaper, containing half a sheet of

foolscap, printed on both sides, called the *The Derwent Star;* printed for a few weeks by Messrs. Barnes and George Clark; Governor Collins having brought out a foolscap press, type, etc., and his Orders having been printed for some time, both at Port Phillip and in Van Diemen's Land, under a tree in the woods."

The whole establishment belonged to Government, and the two printers and publishers were its servants. For a consideration they set up the type, and sold the paper. It is to be feared that the speculation did not pay. As the English ministry of that period were not patrons of education and of the press, but rather opposed to the extension and liberty of both, Colonel Collins evidently arrested the publication when it ceased to be remunerative, or when it was hinted from Sydney that the work was unnecessary.

The first governor of Hobart Town had come out from England with the intention of forming a settlement at Port Phillip, now Victoria. He remained there three months towards the close of 1803, and then removed his charge to the Derwent. It was there, "under a tree in the woods," that the type was first set up.

One version of the story is given in the *Launceston Advertiser* of August 3rd, 1829 :—

"The first newspaper published in this country was called the *Derwent Star and Van Diemen's Land Intelligencer.* It was edited by G. P. Harris, Esq., D.S.G. (Deputy Surveyor-General), and printed by George Clark, and in process of time, Clark wanting

assistance, took as his servant the present printer of the *Colonial Times*, and they for a length of time continued together as master and man; but by a successful manœuvre they (fortunately for the 'errand boy' from the *Public Ledger* office in Warwick Square, London,) disagreed, and the master was dismissed by the governor, and the 'modest Franklin of Tasmania' became sole and original proprietor—this took place some fifteen or sixteen years back."

Allowance must be made for the personal attack upon Mr. Bent, as his paper had previously passed some strictures upon the Launceston Press.

THE "GAZETTE."

THE untimely end of the first newspaper of the Derwent settlement discouraged any attempt at literature for four more years. A new paper then appeared. It was thus headed:—

THE VAN DIEMEN'S LAND GAZETTE AND GENERAL ADVERTISER.

Published by Authority.

The first number is thus dated: "From Saturday, May 14, to Saturday, May 21, 1814." Mr. Barnes is not on the staff, as the only name is "G. Clark, Printer, Hobart." The second number is from May 21, to June 4. It was therefore a fortnightly production.

The throes of approaching dissolution may be sup-

posed from the intimation in September, "Want of type obliges us to delay several other interesting extracts till our next." There were altogether nine numbers; the last coming September 24th, 1814.

For nearly two years more the colony was deprived of Australian intelligence, except the fragments furnished by the press on the shores of Port Jackson. A third effort was made by the Tasmanians in 1816, and this proved to be permanent.

Andrew Bent, called the father of the press of Van Diemen's Land, established, under Government authority, with Government resources, and with Government pay,

THE HOBART TOWN GAZETTE AND SOUTHERN REPORTER,
Saturday, June 1st, 1816.

Two pages of foolscap sufficed for the undertaking. First, there is the official Order, signed by J. A. Lascelles, Secretary, respecting the birthday of George III. One pound of fresh meat and half a pint of spirits are to be furnished to soldiers and constables, that their loyalty might be duly maintained.

Some prisoners are named, who were tried before Mr. Humphrey, the police magistrate. An anecdote of King Frederick, of Prussia, follows. The ship news is contained in the words,—"To-morrow is expected to sail the *Frederick*, Captain Williams, for Port Jackson."

An interesting local article points to an early time. At first the ships anchored off a little island

in Sullivan's Cove, called Hunter's Island. A wharf, the Old Wharf, was subsequently made there. Inconveniences at high tide, with wading to shore from the end of the island, suggested the propriety of uniting the island to the main land. The first paper assures its readers that the causeway would be commenced at once. But the most remarkable statement about the locality is given in the next weekly issue of the Gazette:—

"As the bodies of the felons that were gibbeted on Hunter's Island were close to the place where the wharf is erected, and become objects of disgust, especially to the female sex, they have been removed (by command of His Honour the Lieutenant Governor) to a point of land near Queensborough, which in future will be the place of execution."

From 1817 to 1822, the *Gazette* consisted of two pages of foolscap only. In 1822, the pages were a little longer. It grew to four pages in 1825.

The troubles of Mr. Bent were similar to those experienced by his brother printer, Mr. George Howe, of Sydney. The type was so deficient and so bad; the subscribers were so dilatory and so ungenerous.

As early as June 15th, 1816, hope was cherished. "The arrival of a New Font of Type being expected shortly," says the printer, "when the Columns of this Paper will be enlarged." The columns were not enlarged. One issue, in 1817, has many capitals for the small *a*, evidently from some misfortune. On January 4th, 1823, the *Gazette* said: "We regret that

we are unable, from the non-arrival of our type from England, to enter upon the year with a paper of four pages."

The type came in August, 1823. The careful printer was now to be rewarded for his seven years' labour. He purchased stock, and the Government generously advanced £379 12*s.*, in 1823, for fresh type and press, to be repaid by him "at two half-yearly periods."

This glorious deliverance from bad *letter* had been predicted by his sympathising brother in New South Wales. The *Sydney Gazette* of September 1821 told the sad tale of the Derwenter's sorrows. After stating that he had to make his own ink, he proceeds to speak of "want of type;" and adds, "from which, if Providence is kindly propitious, and the winds favourable, a few intervening months (from what we learn) will effectually relieve him, and then our Sister Press will undoubtedly flourish. For the meantime we would consolingly advise the Printer to urge his way onward patiently in the path of unwearied industry, unceasing virtue, and active benevolence,—the only avenues to comfort and respect; and the time will come, if he shrinks not from the honourable and arduous post, when he shall receive that *lasting* reward which will more than abundantly repay him for all terrestrial toil and *typical* assiduity."

The English reader must understand that pious words, from convict or ex-convict writers in the days of press vassalage, were, in that colony, *then* "the

only avenues to comfort and respect." Once removed from the censorship, there was a sad decline in moral sentiments and the exhibition of religious virtues.

The *Hobart Town Gazette* laboured under a deficiency of subscribers and the burden of bad debts. On April 3rd, 1819, is this cry: "The Printer of this Paper begs leave to remind his Pitt-water and other Country Subscribers, that he will receive Wheat from them in payment. It is hoped that those who are nearly three years in arrears with him will find it in their Power to discharge the same this year, or else it must be expected that he will sue for Payment." It was surely time. He could repeat the glowing language of his Sydney fellow-sufferer, in a pathetic appeal, that same year, to "Remember the Printer," when he exclaimed: "Is he to ask for payment like a profest pauper, or as a man seeking for his rights? Dreadfully contrasted imagination! A Paper must and can only be supported by the public acquiescence; but this acquiescence must not be tame, it must be active."

In a review of his past struggles, Mr. Bent occupies his *New Year's Paper* of 1825 with the following remarks. He commences with a notice of the wretched paper he had to use:—

"Common Chinese Paper, no more than half the size of foolscap, and of which two sheets were consequently obliged to be pasted together for each *Gazette*, cost two guineas sterling per ream. Where was the

Public whose cash, correspondence, and confidence are necessary to support a weekly Press? Where could Readers be found, except in some thirty or forty dwellings? Was it likely a Paper could flourish where the only intelligence bore reference to crime, and the usual records were of infamy? It was not. But we saw and felt that a *Gazette* was prospectively demanded, alike by the interests of Government and those of the general community. Therefore, undaunted by the hazard of a total loss, we cast our typographic 'seed on the waters,' with hopes of 'seeing it after many days.' We contrived to send forth our boat of enterprize on the untried ocean of colonial vicissitude. What makes barbarians civilized, removes the film from the eye of superstitions, and warms a host of degenerate slaves with the hallowed fire which blazed at Marathon? The Press!"

TROUBLES OF THE "GAZETTE" PRINTER.

Mr. Andrew Bent, the Tasmanian Franklin, changed the title of his paper, in 1824, from *The Gazette and Southern Reporter* to *The Gazette and Van Diemen's Land Advertiser*

Loosened from Government control, and owning his own type, the printer received official advertisements on similar terms to others, and dared at least assume some little independence, and even venture upon criticism of public affairs. During the years of

misrule under Colonel Davey, and the loose reign of Colonel Sorell, there was so little interference, and so little pressure, that almost every one did what seemed good in his own eyes, however much the cause of true freedom and morals suffered thereby. But on the advent of Colonel Arthur as Governor, in 1824, a different state of things became, at once, the law. He would be Governor *de facto*, and he proceeded to the cure of social evils, after the approved method of a military man.

A sort of liberty of the press had been sanctioned by an Act, in 1824, which released the printer from much exercise of paternal oversight of the State. The *Gazette* of June, 1824, assumed the solemn responsibility, and grandly declared: "We esteem ourselves a beacon, placed by Divine graciousness on the awfully perilous coast of human frailty." The misfortune of the editor and proprietor was, that he fell foul of the frailty of the Governor. He permitted the insertion of some ably written but scathing letters by Mr. Robert Lathorpe Murray, reflecting on the doings of the new ruler.

Colonel Arthur was not the man to indure this. The government prosecutor had orders to arraign Mr. Bent for libel, in July, 1825. One libellous expression was the object of attack—"the Gideonite of tyranny." The defendant sought at first to claim clemency on the ground that he was only "a poor printer," and "a plain man," who had, in his innocence, admitted some ill-advised letters. Nothing could mollify the

anger of the Governor at such an epithet. "What does it mean?" quoth the defendant's counsel. "Was not Gideon a very good man? What offence could there be in applying so honoured a name to his Honour?"

Outsiders had their remarks. To the opinion that the phrase had no meaning, Mr. Kemp, one of the earliest reformers, observed, that had it said the "Caligula of tyranny," the meaning would have been more obvious. Mr. Meredith did not at first believe the sentence had any application to the Governor; "but I now consider it does apply," said he. Mr. Gregson, who was for thirty years after opposed to State tactics, agreed with him in opinion.

The very sympathy of such friends was injurious to the printer. He was convicted of that libel and another reflecting on the conduct of some officials. He was fined five hundred pounds and sent to gaol.

This was not all. He lost his position as Government printer. The Governor procured type, set up an establishment, and obtained the services of Dr. Ross as manager. He did more. He assumed the name *Gazette* for his paper. Mr. Bent called it piracy, and condemned the "hireling press." On August 19, 1825, came the tidings that "the *Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemen's Land Advertiser*, which for nearly ten years has been the only vehicle of communication in the colony, is now no more."

When troubles thickened upon the colony, and the press became gagged worse than ever by heavy re-

strictions, Mr. Bent sought a license for his Hobart Town *Colonial Times*. He was refused. For a time he struggled with a sheet of advertisements, as he could give no news. Then he sold the newspaper to Mr. James Austin, who next applied for the license. But he, also, was refused, as Bent was retained in his employment; consequently the purchase was nullified. Armed afterwards with a memorial, signed by fifty leading colonists, he presented himself at the end of December, 1827, humbly suing for protection. He was again refused.

Almost despairing, he resigned his press to Mr. J. T. Gellibrand, once Attorney General, and then an active partizan of colonial freedom. So respectable a gentleman as the barrister would surely obtain the required license. But Colonel Arthur was inexorable, so long as Bent was even a printer on the paper. In 1828 the Franklin started a sheet of advertisements and a monthly *Advocate*, under the editorial conduct of a clever writer, but who was not then free. An order came forth, that any convict presuming to write for any newspaper should be punished, and any one venturing to act as editor should be sent in chains to a distant penal settlement.

Then a bill in equity was filed against Mr. Bent for seeking to evade the law by starting an advertising sheet. He was imprisoned one month, when he consented to give up the *Advocate*. The unfortunate man lost altogether the savings of many years. When happily the freedom of the press appeared, he vainly

sought to recover compensation for his losses. Even in 1836 his claims were submitted to Parliament.

In an expression of sympathy from Sydney, in January, 1828, the editor, after referring to Bent's paper being "still in the black books of the Tasmanian Government," ventures upon the following bold expression:—"If we could only breathe what we think on this subject, we are satisfied that our exclamations of petrification and astonishment would shake Van Diemen's Land to its very centre."

The good services and sufferings of the printer were not soon forgotten. On April 25, 1834, Mr. E. S. Hall, editor of the Sydney *Monitor*, addressed this letter of sympathy to Mr. Bent:—

"You, like myself, have been the victim of persecution by a non-responsible ruler. I do not give myself credit for more patriotism than yourself, in having gone greater lengths than you with our late tyrant. I had not a fortune to lose as you had. I could only adventure my health, my personal liberty, and possibility of transportation. These I cheerfully risked; not for the love of my adopted country, for I despise it; but because simply that I am an Englishman. I resolved to let this degenerate colony see what one of the Saxon breed was capable of doing, in asserting the native independence of his mind; and how it was possible for a single individual to withstand the sneers of his enemies and indifference of society; and I wished to prove that there is in some minds a principle which tyrants cannot subdue, which

scorn cannot shame, and which indifference cannot freeze.

"What I mean by giving you that honourable title, The Tasmanian Franklin, is that you have, like the American printer, proved of Franklin blood, and that you have displayed the principles and the courage of that great reformer,—no small honour in these miserable times, and in the parts of the earth where we have the unhappiness to dwell."

THE EARLY LAUNCESTON PRESS.

WHEN one takes up the *Launceston Examiner*, the type, material, and tone declare its high character and efficiency. The story of press struggles in that northern capital is very interesting.

As Mr. Bent was the father of the Hobart Town press, Mr. Howe, a native-born Australian, was the parent of the Launceston. The earliest notice of the undertaking is from the *Sydney Gazette* of November 18, 1824:—

"We are happy to announce, for the information of our nearer Tasmanian friends, that a printing-press is about to be carried forthwith to the settlement of Port Dalrymple, and that a newspaper will be commenced under the patronage and sanction of the Government. The conductor will be an Australian by birth, and son of the late Government printer of this colony,—a second George Howe. The printing

materials, till returns come from Europe, will be scanty; and the columns of the little journal will only assume a humble appearance. Our neighbours need fear no *Eclipse* in their typographical efforts, though the vessel of that name will convey the earliest intelligence. The first number of the *Tasmanian Gazette and Launceston Advertiser* is intended to commence with the new year."

It appeared with the new year of 1825, January 5. "Great things," said the editor, "will not be aimed at; but the supporters of the *Tasmanian* may feel assured that, as the settlement of Port Dalrymple rises into notice, so shall the columns of this humble journal increase in estimation. The object of the publisher will be to render the *Tasmanian* as useful as possible, and never to allow it to be the vehicle of personal attack."

So honourable and modest an avowal of sentiments should have secured its success with honest and modest people. But at that early period of colonial history this particular description of inhabitants hardly abounded in the northern township of the island. Yet the virtue of the paper was not its only trouble. A more serious inconvenience, and the one to be felt, lay in the want of type.

The *Sydney Gazette* of March 3rd, had this word of encouragement: "We hope that the founder of the *Tasmanian* may turn out as clever as the founder of the *Sydney Gazette*, and then the name of our progenitor will not be calumniated by a deficiency of profes-

sional skill." In six weeks after, the same record has this darker shade to present: "It is thought that it will be necessary for the *Tasmanian* to suspend operations for some months at least." The public are informed, however, that with the arrival of new type the work will be resumed.

It is sad to see how noble resolutions can be broken. The intention was good, but the temptation was strong. Personal attacks were avoided until the provocation came. Then the Launceston writer so forgot his propriety as to speak of his brother typo as "the Hobart Town goose." This outrageous insult was met in the following manner by the respondent. After speaking of the *Tasmanian* as "that mushroom of a day," the *Gazette* proceeds: "On perusing his wretchedly feeble attack upon us, instead of anger kindling in our breast, we laughed most heartily, and have ever since been singing this quondam lollipop merchant's favourite song of 'Hey diddle diddle, the cat and the fiddle.'"

The name of *Tasmanian* was carried to Hobart Town, in the *Tamanian and Austral-Asiatic Review* of March, 1827. This was established by Mr. Macdougall, under the editorship of Mr. Robert Lathorpe Murray. The last-named gentleman was conducting the *Review* on my arrival in Tasmania in 1841.

The next attempt at Port Dalrymple was more successful. The *Advertiser* was begun by Mr. John Fawkner, a publican in the town, afterwards known as the celebrated John *Pascoe* Fawkner, of Victoria.

He was one of the most remarkable instances of what may be accomplished by energy in the colonies. He rose, from being an ill-educated, ill-trained, lad to be an influential member of the Legislative Council of Victoria. The paper he established was the organ of the emancipist and prisoner class, who certainly did require some representative of their growing power in the state.

The *Launceston Advertiser* saw the light on Monday, February 9th, 1829. The commencement is naturally an advertisement of the proprietor's own house of business, "Fawkner's Hotel, Cameron Street." The second advertisement notices one peculiarity in the man of 1829, that marked his career to 1869, the year of his decease. This was his love of books. "Fawkner's circulating library" shared with "a choice supply of spirits" the attention of the host. We are told that books teach us "to see ourselves as others see us." It may be pleasing to some to know the composition of the library. These are named:—"History of England," "Opie's" and "Mrs. Radcliffe's Novels," "Smollett," "Dance of Death," and "Blossom of Anecdote."

In the leader the public are informed that "labouring under numerous disadvantages, we feel exceeding diffidence introducing to the public this (our first) number of the *Launceston Advertiser*, but when we consider that time alone can surmount the difficulties, and that these difficulties will be allowed for and considered by a generous and discerning public, we

confess we feel our confidence encouraged."—"'Harmony' is the motto of the *Launceston Advertiser*, whose pages shall never be prostituted to scurrility, calumny, sycophancy, or disaffection, nor shall they be made the vehicle of slander, malice, and party feeling."

This delightful harmony soon degenerated to the wildest discord.

A worthy Methodist, a Mr. Dowsett, alarmed at what he considered a terrible sign of a fallen age, the existence of such a paper under such management, resolved, in the desperation of virtue, to originate a counteracting force. The *Cornwall Press* appeared in April, 1829.

The war raged between the illiterate publican, who conducted his own defence, and the impulsive Irish Methodist. The latter began the assault at once. The sanctities of private life were disregarded in the eagerness of attack; and, with a repudiation of the vulgarity of personality, the Cornwall editor had these choice observations: "Addlepated upstart! a garrulous maligner!—annihilate the blowfly—five feet two inches and a quarter, poor fellow—as a moral pestilence, must be checked—whip deserving impudence—none but blackguards can now patronize it," etc.

Mr. Fawkner was equal to the emergency. He replied on the 4th of May. A few passages may suffice. "About talent, and the Little Go—oh no—it was not personal to point out a man as five feet two and a quarter inches high, and that he does not well

to ride—no—oh no, nothing that a religious young man does can be amiss." A little personal rejoinder follows:—"Do you remember the pleader in the Lieutenant-Governor's court who advertised to be sold, at the Albion Hotel, excellent lollipops, bulls-eyes, barley-sugar, and kisses? By the bye, the five feet two-and-a-quarter man says, he would thank you to call and pay the wine bill you ran up some three months ago, so we believe would other landlords."

The Methodist retired, and the publican triumphed. The *Cornwall Chronicle* soon rose into being; and the proprietorship of the *Advertiser* passed from Mr. J. Fawkner into the hands of the able and patriotic Mr. Robert Dowling, a citizen of whom Tasmania is justly proud.

PERSECUTION OF THE PRESS.

As General Darling had the reputation of Press Gagger in New South Wales, so Colonel Arthur obtained similar notoriety in Van Diemen's Land.

Mr. Bent's struggle was the first, and his efforts to obtain the freedom of the press were continued by others.

Governor Arthur's Act of September, 1827, was the one under which the newspaper groaned. In the preamble, it is said that Van Diemen's Land was established solely for convicts, and that discipline was essential for that class: that, before 1824, nothing

was permitted to be inserted in a paper without the express sanction of the Government; and that since that censorship had been partially withdrawn, disorders had arisen from the license of writing.

It was, therefore, enacted that an annual license for a newspaper must be obtained from Government, under penalty of one hundred pounds. Besides heavy personal obligations, the newspaper proprietor was required to find three sureties for four hundred pounds each. Well might the poor editor exclaim on October 6th, "To us it appears a matter of awful moment, to enter into the required recognizances to the amount of twelve to sixteen hundred pounds, before the judge, and we know not whom, among the circle of our friends, we could request to become sureties for us—a favour which we ourselves would be averse to grant to others."

The censorship was alluded to in the "New South Wales Magazine," of 1833. "We can bear testimony," said the writer, "from personal knowledge, to the havock made by the *Censor* in its proof sheets. Well do we remember with what pathos its editor, when conversing with his friends, would descant on the hardships he had to endure. With the tears rolling down his cheeks, has the hoary veteran detailed to us the horrors he was often and often doomed to feel, on receiving back his inspected sheets, sometimes altered till he could scarcely recognise a fraction of their original import; paragraphs struck out which were vital to the sense and consistency of his article, and

sometimes whole columns amputated at one remorseless blow,—were the sweet rewards of his editorial toils."

The difficulties attending the criticism upon the conduct of officials led to some contrivances of the Roman Pasquin sort. A veteran stump of a gum-tree had been left in the middle of Elizabeth Street, Hobart Town. Any one who had articles to sell signified the same by a written bill on the stump. All sorts of advertisements, and even Government Orders, were attached to this lounge of the town folk. This was the place selected for the secret attachment of slanders and libels. The early visitants at the stump were often edified by the detail of some tyrannical exploit of an official. One poor fellow was caught in the very act of affixing a placard of this obnoxious character, and was rewarded by the infliction of three hundred lashes at the stump.

A Government Order of 1816 gives a curious insight into the manners of the times and the pasquinades of the period. Rewards of a high amount were often offered for the discovery of offending scribblers, and even free pardons were held out as the premium for spies. This is the announcement of the *Gazette*:—

"Whereas, on the days of Thursday and Friday last, copies of a PAPER usually called a PIPE were circulated in the town of Sydney, one being thrown over the wall in George Street, opposite to His Honour the Lieut.-Governor's house; another at the

provost-marshal's; another at Mrs. Macarthur's; and another outside the wall of the General Hospital, opposite the quarter occupied by D'Arcy Wentworth, Esq., each paper separately addressed to the above persons, and containing a false, malicious, and scurrilous attack upon the character of His Honour the Lieut.-Governor."

A temporary suspension of standing Orders, a winking at the raving of the press, or a sort of cat play with the mouse, prepared for more stringent acts of repression. As Governor Darling, because of some oppressive and unjustifiable doings, got roughly handled by the Sydney newspapers, he applied, in 1827, for increased power from the ministry of England to restrict the liberty of the press. Had he been able to have carried out his intentions, editors and printers would have had long dungeon allowances in addition to heavy penalties. A friend appeared in time, at least to mitigate the evils which he could not wholly remove; this was the worthy Chief-Justice Forbes.

A leading man in New South Wales, Mr. Macarthur, who had been in the Bligh days one of the champions of so-called freedom, was so incensed at some article against himself, that he counselled the Governor to levy a tax of one shilling upon each copy of a newspaper, and he commenced an action against Mr. Howe of the *Gazette*, laying his damages at the sum of £10,000.

The great press trial of March, 1828, was in con-

nection with Dr. Wardell, conductor of the *Sydney Australian*. He was charged with having endeavoured to bring Governor Darling into contempt, by the insertion of a letter signed "Vox Populi," reflecting upon his conduct in relation to the hated Stamp Act. One passage complained of thus ironically alluded to the new law:—

"It will impede and obstruct the progress of knowledge and information, which, owing to the newspapers, were shamefully gaining ground in the colony; it will also blight the prospect of the editors, who, to their utter shame be it spoken, had the impiety and audacity not only to surmise, but positively to assert, that governors and men in power were not always infallible; which assertion, to every one of common sense must appear false, scandalous, and seditious. To say that the Governor and Council are not infallible! Oh, Shocking! Monstrous!! Horrible!!!"

This was the article of offence. Men in this day would smile at the mildness of the treatment, and wonder at the choler of the authorities. There is not much of the Wilkes audacity, the Junius sarcasm, the *Lantern* personality, about this object of official wrath.

The printer was very ably defended by Mr. Wentworth. The jury could not agree upon the verdict on the Saturday morning, nor when called up in the afternoon. They were therefore locked up till Monday morning. Then, all failing, they were

dismissed without a verdict. Great rejoicings followed the victory.

Though it is hardly necessary in so slight a sketch to proceed much further into the subject of the persecution of the press, yet a few additional facts may be mentioned.

The Hobart Town *Colonial Times* fought the battle of freedom nobly. When the Stamp Act of 1827 was brought into operation, the *Times* was obliged to appear without a stamp, and without public news. Mr. Bent was the first sufferer. The next proprietor, Mr. Henry Melville, maintained the struggle. He conducted the war on the Government of Colonel Arthur with ability and pertinacity. Repeatedly and heavily fined, repeatedly and roughly imprisoned, Mr. Melville lived to see the emancipation of the press and the liberty of the subject. But his contest ruined a fine fortune. For years his claims for compensation were before Parliament. Though he lost all, and is now a dependent old man in London, he deserves to be acknowledged and honoured as the true defender of the rights of the colonial press. When Mr. Fawkner "escaped by an apology," Mr. Melville was content to go to gaol.

Dr. Ross, who succeeded Mr. Bent, and who began the *Courier* in October, 1827, was far from being a servile tool of authority. Mr. Elliston purchased the paper from him, and conducted it with great credit for many years.

The first pamphlet published in Van Diemen's

Land was the "Life of Michael Howe, the Bush-ranger," in 1818. Ross's first almanac was in 1829. In that year were printed the political essays of "The Hermit," by Simon Stukelly, in the *Colonial Times*. Simon is supposed to have been Savery, a Bristol merchant, who was transported to Van Diemen's Land. A poem of 2000 lines was advertised, in April, 1824, to be published if subscribers came forward. These not being at hand, the literature was withheld.

EARLY STATE OF FREEDOM.

ELSEWHERE allusion is made to the want of liberty, in the old colonial days, with reference to the press and religion. A strict censorship was maintained with the first, and exclusiveness of Church prevailed.

Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales, being penal colonies, could not be expected to have equal rights with other portions of the British empire. But in no portion of the English dominions did freedom have much sway at that period. Under the Government of George III., the growth of emancipation was checked, as if the scenes of the Reign of Terror were expected in London.

With no free press to overawe the tyranny of rulers, the state of the colonies can be imagined. Even free persons were subjected to the lash for very trivial offences. Exposed to the false swearing of convict

constables, the critic of the authorities stood little chance of justice on a trial. Even women were thrashed through the streets of Hobart Town for abusive language to an officer. The supposed slandering of a school girl subjected the offender to one hundred and fifty lashes. Witnesses who gave evidence unsatisfactory to the magistrate, or who withheld something sought to be extorted were readily enough ordered to the triangles. Even so late as 1823, a judge ordered a witness to be taken out of court and have a hundred lashes, in order to get more satisfactory information from him. Governor Bligh speaks of magistrates attempting to force a confession by the administration of a flogging. We read of men being ordered twenty-five lashes every morning for eight days in succession, to induce them to make confession.

The Government interfered with trade and labour. Corn was not allowed to be exported without permission of the State. The storing of corn, with a view to extort a higher price, was declared illegal. Public Orders were issued against extortionate demand of wages. Fixed rates for certain descriptions of labour were enforced. An Act in 1816 forbade payments in any other way than cash sterling. Government officers were, in 1816, forbidden to trade. No marriages could take place without a permit from the Governor. No person could leave the colony without leave, and without publishing his intention in the paper. All deeds and bonds had to be prepared by the Judge-Advocate.

Occasional as well as annual musters took place. At these all excepting the officers of Government were required to present themselves. Free women had to go and give the ages of their children, and teachers the number of their pupils. Up to 1822, persons wishing to travel between Hobart Town and Launceston had to apply to the police-office for a pass.

In the administration of justice, a military jury of seven officers, appointed by the Governor, decided all cases of life and death. In civil cases, two Assessors were elected by the Governor to act with the Judge-Advocate, and form the Governor's court. In Van Diemen's Land, the Lieut.-Governor's court consisted of the Deputy Judge-Advocate, and two persons appointed by the Lieut.-Governor. These courts were first opened in 1816, though authorized in 1814. A single magistrate could inflict fifty lashes, but two magistrates were not limited in the number ordered. Each colonial magistrate had a scourger on his staff. Defendants' cases were poorly supplied with advocates, as no free lawyer came to Van Diemen's Land till 1822.

The two first persons who received permission to plead in the court, popularly known as the "Little Go," were Mr. R. L. Murray and a schoolmaster. The blue bag was very soon assumed. Mr. John Fawkner, of the Cornwall Hotel, was one of the earliest pleaders in the Launceston court. Mr. Bigge's report of the convict attorneys, and the

good opening for free practitioners, brought a shoal of lawyers from England.

In spite of the earnest entreaties of Lieutenant-Governor Sorell, the pressing necessity of an overcrowded gaol, the expense and inconvenience of a shipment of prisoners and witnesses to the court in Sydney, the increase of crime through the unwillingness of prosecutors to lose the time consumed in such a voyage,—such were the difficulties in the way of improvement, that it was only by the good offices of the parliamentary commissioner, Mr. Bigge, that Van Diemen's Land obtained the desired boon. He mentions, "Mr. Judge-Advocate Wylde, at my suggestion, proceeded thither accordingly, and held criminal court, in the year 1821."

It is interesting to observe the nature of judicial scruples. The island was kept so much longer from the boon, because the Judge-Advocate had legal doubts of the propriety of his proceeding to Van Diemen's Land, as that country was not, strictly speaking, a part of New South Wales. The Orders in Council, December 6th, 1786, defined that colony to be "the whole eastern coast of New South Wales and the islands adjacent." It was contended that while Norfolk Island, and even New Zealand and the South Sea Isles could be so included, Van Diemen's Land could not for two reasons; it was not known as an island at the time, and it was situated to the southward instead of the eastward of the coast in question. Mr. Bigge got the judge to overleap his supposed

instructions, and place the island under his jurisdiction.

Some advance was made when Governor Darling established his court, which was composed of three officials and three non-officials. But that which was urgently required was the British right of trial by a jury of peers. A writer in the *Sydney Gazette* of 1812 had some curious remarks upon this question, illustrating the peculiarity of the mixed population of the settlements. "Men tried by their peers!" quoth he. "Would that principle be fairly acted upon, if free settlers were to sit in judgment on convicts, and that too in cases where free settlers might be a party? Would it be prudent to let convicts act as jurymen? Would their admission satisfy the free settlers?"

To understand the difficulty, the reader must bear in mind that many convicts, as tickets-of-leave, often held considerable property, and transacted important affairs. When they obtained their emancipation, they became in the colony as free in every sense as those who arrived there without restraint. A constant rivalry existed in the olden times between the free by servitude and the free by arrival. The former, called the Emancipists, were in many cases wealthy and influential, and felt a natural antagonism to the free new comer, who came as a *carpet-bag* man to rule them.

When, then, after a struggle of many years, they saw the prize of freedom appropriated by the *strangers*, as they called them, their indignation was strongly excited.

The concession of trial by jury was granted in 1824; but it was declared that the free only were to act as jurors. The Emancipists met to rehearse their wrongs. Subscriptions were raised, and counsel was employed, to secure their equality of right; but all were in vain. This injustice was felt the more, as they believed the colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land to be theirs by act of settlement; and not a few contended that the free emigrants were interlopers, who, instead of securing the government to themselves, ought rather to occupy a subordinate position in public affairs.

Governor Macquarie, many years before, in a despatch to Lord Sidmouth, espoused the cause of the Emancipists, saying, "To them we owe our existence as a colony. It was founded by their punishment and reformation. The few free settlers I found here had certainly honoured this convict country so far as to establish themselves in it." He ventured even then to explain his views upon the duties of a governor in a convict colony. "My principle," said he, "is that when once a man is free, his former state should no longer be remembered, or allowed to act, against him."

The Emancipists, equally with others in New South Wales, were admitted as jurors in 1827, through Judge Forbes. Though opposed by the Government, he persisted in interpreting the recent Jury Act of Mr. Peel, to include the right of colonists to this old English privilege. When the chairman of the Quarter

Sessions, at Sydney, addressed the grand jury, on January 3rd, 1828, the majority of whom were Emancipists, he congratulated them "that this first attempt to introduce *trial by jury* in the true English style, into this colony, has succeeded so well." He added, "and I have little doubt it will have the effect of shortening the period when that inestimable birthright of Englishmen will be conceded with unlimited extent to this part of the British dominions."

Meanwhile the Tasmanian colonists were still groping in Middle Age darkness. Their very careful Judge Pedder could not see his way so clearly as his Sydney legal brother, and the application of Peel's Act was not made in the island. The editor of the *Hobart Town Colonial Advertiser* declared in May, 1828, "In this colony the Emancipists are deprived (with *all* others of their fellow-colonists) of their just privileges in this respect, while in New South Wales they sit as grand-jurymen." They had but to wait a little longer.

Bent's Advocate of that date speaks thus freely of the conduct of England towards her own people transplanted to other and still British shores:—"From the earliest ages the colonial policy of Great Britain has ever been subversive of colonial freedom. In the year 1635, Charles I. assailed the colonial charters. Charles II. followed in his steps, and made war against colonial liberty in general. James II. was not behind in the work of destruction of colonial privileges. Anne proposed the abrogation of various

charities and immunities granted to the colonies, on the plea that they were 'prejudicial and repugnant to the trade of the kingdom, and to Her Majesty's revenue.'"

Practically applying his general discourse, the editor says, "Look at Australia and Tasmania, rapidly growing into importance, checked, nipped, strangled by impositions, quit rents, taxes, Church estates of an enormous magnitude, more than a tithe of the whole country, military jurors, irresponsible rulers, a shackled press, injudicious expenditure, etc., etc., all emanating from the policy of the Home Government, which desires to make these colonies furnish places and pensions for favourites and hangers on." These items of misrule have been gradually lessened since that period, to the advantage of the colonies, and the strengthening of their union with Britain.

A matter-of-fact writer takes a commercial view of affairs, when, in answer to the repeated memorials of the colonists, the old military trials gave place to a Supreme Court with the forms of English law. The Conservative, in *Murray's Review*, chides the sanguine politicians, "who made loud exclamations for what they called a 'regular court,' and a 'regular judge,' and 'regular lawyers,' forgetting that with these would necessarily come 'regular fees.' The old fable of King Log and King Stork was speedily realized,—the Log Lieutenant-Governor's Court was succeeded by the Stork Supreme Court: and now, instead of a fifty pound suit costing four pounds, a

defending defendant is well off if he can compound for an additional fifty pounds."

At the great meeting of March 13th, 1827, the Hobart Town citizens humbly petitioned for trial by jury, and for, at least, the shadow of a representative government.

At a meeting on May 23rd, 1831, a petition to the king was prepared, suing humbly for a "Legislative Assembly fairly and properly chosen." The petitioners urge, "Unless we are permitted at once to enjoy the blessings of the British constitution in full and complete effect, our efforts will be in vain, and our posterity will be only Britons in name, and that which is most justly your Majesty's glory will be lost to our posterity for ever."

Afterwards, oppressed with the evils of convictism, they entreated, on Feb. 28th, 1835, for the cessation of transportation to the island. At that time such had been the influx of emigrants that only one-eighth of the free people of Van Diemen's Land had ever been in bondage. The Home Office refused their prayer. More convicts were poured in, until the population was one half of prisoner character. The hearts of the colonists failed, and their loyalty was expiring.

How the fathers of colonial freedom would have stared, had one prophesied then that their children would not only have the trial by jury, but the sole control of the public lands, and the sole administration of colonial affairs; that they should not only have a

responsible ministry, and a freely elected parliament, but possess manhood suffrage, and the vote by ballot; that they should not only admit other denominations to an equality with the Episcopalian Church in the eyes of the law, but that they should ordain the abolition of State aid to religion altogether!

Such has been the progress of colonial liberty. With such, there have been an extension of education, a growth of morals, a development of resources, a rise in civilization, that have increased the happiness of the people, and rendered the name of Australia glorious throughout the earth.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

WESLEYAN STRUGGLES IN ADELAIDE.

Now that this body of Christians possess spacious chapels, and have numerous, and even wealthy, congregations, it is curious to read, in a little pocket-book, the following memorandum :—

"15th May, 1837.—At a meeting held this night at the dwelling house of E. Stephens, Esq., for the purpose of establishing a religious society, to be called the Wesleyan Methodist Society, the following persons gave in their names as desirous of becoming members." The list contained fifteen names. This was within a few weeks of the settlement of the place.

The first place of worship was in a reed-hut, plastered over with clay. The first real chapel, Hindley Street, Adelaide, was opened in March, 1838. The Wesleyans were not only the first religious body of South Australia to hold public service, but the first to organize a mission to the heathen aborigines, and their local preachers officiated in the pulpit and at the sacrament table. The church was organized, a Sabbath-school commenced, and a chapel erected, before a minister of their body had arrived. Elsewhere the story is told of the arrival of the ship-wrecked Mr. Longbottom.

Ill health compelled the retirement of that gentleman to the cooler limits of Tasmania. The Rev. John Waterhouse, then the representative of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in Australia and Polynesia, requested the earnest Rev. John Egglestone to occupy the Adelaide charge in 1840. For a time everything went on gloriously. A fine chapel was raised in Gawler Place, at a cost of £2400, and great expectations were entertained. But the sudden blight came.

The terrors of the crisis fell upon them. Through 1841, '42, '43, colonial trials affected the interests of the struggling Church. The whole income of the Society, throughout the whole colony, for the September quarter, 1843, was only £19, while the debt upon the one chapel was £1300. No wonder that the trustees cried to Governor Grey for relief. To add to the troubles, Mr. Egglestone's health gave way, and he retired to Hobart Town. An unfortunate and disturbed time succeeded under the next minister. But Mr. Longbottom returned in 1844, and healed their divisions. He was then assisted by the Rev. John Harcourt, now a much esteemed minister in Victoria, who married the daughter of the Rev. N. Turner.

But the advent of the Rev. D. J. Draper, the hero of the *London*, changed the aspect of affairs. He arrived in 1846, and applied his rare administrative abilities to rear a substantial structure of Wesleyan Methodism. In this he succeeded. He

raised money, he drew ministers, he built chapels. In five years he had six ministerial brethren round him, and he saw the congregations increased to six times their original amount. In one year alone he assisted at the erection of twelve Wesleyan chapels. Several preachers trained by him, as the Rev. J. C. Symonds and Rev. T. Dare, have been very useful in Australia. For a few years the Rev. T. N. Hull was his colleague. This gentleman was a scholar and an orator, and attracted large audiences. But, without doubt, South Australian Methodism is more indebted to the Rev. Daniel Draper than to any other man, for its present influential and prosperous condition.

THE SHIPWRECKED MISSIONARY.

The Rev. William Longbottom had been a Wesleyan missionary in India. The climate enfeebled his health. He sought the restoration of his vigour in the charming salubrity of Australia.

After a little rest, it was arranged that he should be stationed awhile at Swan River, Western Australia. As there was then more communication with that place from Hobart Town than from Sydney, he got a passage at the port of Van Diemen's Land. In these days of *Great Britains* and *Great Easterns*, the insignificance of our ancient colonial craft might well provoke a smile. The good man was content to sail in a little boat of forty tons, called the *Fanny*. A

voyage of some two thousand miles, with many inconveniences, had to be undertaken by the invalid minister, accompanied by his wife and little child. This was in the month of June, 1838; a time of year which, for rough weather and season, answers to the English December.

It was rather natural that so small a vessel should seek to hug the land a little for shelter; but it was singular imprudence, negligence, or something worse, that led the captain out of his route in proximity to a dangerous coast.

After sailing along the Southern limestone rocks of Port Phillip, now Victoria, leaving Portland Bay, the Basaltic Heads, the Guano Isle, and the craggy heights of Cape Northumberland, he crept northward into Encounter Bay. This was so called from the accidental meeting of a French and English exploring ship in 1802. The first was commanded by Captain Baudin, who had received his commission of peace from the Consul Napoleon; the other was under Captain Flinders, the discoverer of Bass's Strait and the whole coast of South Australia.

Encounter Bay is of a crescent shape. Its two horns are bold promontories, the one of primitive rock, and the other of limestone beds. Between these not a stone or rise is seen. The curve line is traced on sand. The frolicksome waves will here and there throw up a hillock only to tear it down again, and strew its fragments far on the ocean bed. And yet this weak rampart repels the wild charges

of the massive billows, and rolls back the mad seas that would engulf the land. A strong contest takes place, however, where the river Murray, after a tranquil course of 2400 miles, glides noiselessly through the salt waters of the Victoria lake, and seeks then to fall into the Southern Ocean. The battle there is found with the shifting sands. The indignant sea hurls up huge banks to stay the irruptive waters; but, like the ancient forest tribes that broke across the frontiers of Rome, the repulsed foremost ranks of the stream are forced onward again by rearward hosts who must have room, until the wall is beaten down, and the imprisoned waters fly. Then will the ocean rush to the strife once more, and rebuild its fallen fortress.

Southward of this point, and extending for ninety miles parallel to the coast, is a singular physical feature. A few hundred yards from the sea, divided from it by sand hummocks only, and fed from it by the percolations through the sand, is an inland sea or lake; which, though nearly one hundred miles in length, is seldom a mile broad, and but a few feet in depth. The salt Coorong has some dreary, shrubless islands, just showing their sandy heads above the glistening waters. Beyond, again, is the ever dreary sand of one of the many deserts of South Australia. The kangaroo and opossum fly this inhospitable part. The screaming of the gull is unanswered by the note of the land birds. Woe to the poor traveller caught in this wretched thirsty land!

The *Fanny* came drifting heedlessly along this low and barren shore. The swell that sets in there is strong and even dangerous in fair weather, and is overwhelming in a storm. The sky was clear and the wind was light, as in the still hour of night the missionary was thrown out of his berth by the keel of the vessel inpinging on the sands. A gracious Providence was watching over them all. The captain, his four seamen, and the missionary family landed in safety.

Their first thought was to secure themselves with a little provision on the leeward side of the hummocks, where the cold wind could not annoy them. There they waited anxiously for day. As the morning was calm and the ship was still hanging together with its end in the sands, a visit was paid to the cabin and the hold. Two days of fine weather enabled the shipwrecked ones to recover some biscuits, water, and clothes. They were unsuccessful, however, in the search for the charts and compass. These, with the ship's log and papers, had disappeared. There were several circumstances that tended to excite suspicions against the master.

A sort of tent was erected, and all availing means were employed to make themselves comfortable. The captain seemed to be wholly unacquainted with the locality, and made no early effort to shift his quarters. For a whole month the party were in a wretched plight, exposed on that stormy coast to the violence of wintry winds. Before the waves destroyed the vessel, and carried off the fragments, timber was secured for

firing: but when that was exhausted they suffered much from cold and damp. From this trouble they were relieved by some natives, who, seeing at a distance the tent, came near to observe the visitors. Instead of acting the savage, they courteously provided them with sticks for their fires; the wood they brought from distant forests.

Strange to say, these very Coorong aborigines, who behaved with such kindness to these unfortunate Englishmen, were afterwards known for their horrible brutality towards another shipwrecked party.

A colonial brig had been cast ashore in a gale there. The people, crew and passengers, men, women, and children, attempted to follow the coast round to Adelaide. Day after day they pursued their toilsome way over the sands. They were thus separated into distinct parties. The natives, who at first appeared favourable, and even gave them food and directed them to water, suddenly from some unexplained cause, set upon the stragglers, speared them at a distance, or beat out their brains with clubs. For a long time after, a piece of tattered dress disclosed the scene of some part of this terrible tragedy.

From such a fate the party of the *Fanny* were preserved. They were kept, however, in painful suspense. At length they were unexpectedly aided by others worse off than themselves. A number of shipwrecked sailors came upon them. They were wasted with hunger, and weary with travel.

Those poor creatures had been wrecked about an

hundred miles lower down. If unprovided with food, save shellfish thrown up by the sea, they had both a chart and a compass. The sailors of the *Fanny* supplied the little provisions, and those of the *Elizabeth* undertook to guide them to a port.

But hundreds of miles on the land was a fearful way for the men, and worse for a feeble lady and her infant boy. A boat was necessary to cross the wide waters of the Murray, and it would lighten their way along the Coorong. It was with great difficulty and long searching along the beach, that sufficient material was collected with which to construct a little boat. This accomplished, they dragged it over the sandhills, and safely launched it upon the placid waters of the Coorong.

They made their way upward. They came to the head of the Coorong, which was a large expanse, since known as Lake Albert, and communicating with another shallow salt basin, called by Capt. Sturt, its discoverer, after the Princess Alexandrina Victoria, but now only recognised as Lake Victoria. The Murray was crossed, though with much risk and danger. The good little boat was there abandoned, and the whole party now proceeded through the Mallée Scrub, over the Limestone Floor, towards the northern end of Encounter Bay. But the appearance of native fires disturbed them; for they rightly judged that the aborigines of a country are always more ferocious and more degraded on the confines of civilization, which they hoped they had now reached. To avoid meeting

with this new peril the sailors prudently walked all night. What was their joy to behold in the early morning the unmistakable encampment of white men.

This proved to be a settlement of whalers. At that period fish were plentiful all along that coast. Portland and Encounter Bay stations were the first two places on the south-eastern shore of New Holland for whaling operations. The fisheries are now deserted. I have been mournfully struck with the desolate ruins of one of these two resorts for whalers. They were by no means the gentlest of beings, nor the most virtuous of characters; but towards the shipwrecked visitors they behaved with all that hearty generosity and kindness which ever distinguish the British sailor.

The missionary had heard that followers of John Wesley lived in the new settlement of Adelaide, and that the banker, of the South Australian Company, was the son of one of the leading members of Conference. Could he, therefore, but communicate with the citizens of the reed huts on the Torrens, assistance might be procured. The captain of the *Elizabeth* was ready to relieve the anxieties of his ministerial friend, and boldly declared his intention to strike through the forest with his compass and chart, and make an overland journey to the town.

Provided with food, he set off across those ranges now studded with farms, and over plains, now sprinkled with villages, but which then were held by the kangaroos alone. He entered the new settlement,

and told his tale. The banker's energies were immediately exercised. A vessel was forthwith dispatched to Encounter Bay, and ere long the shipwrecked missionary entered Adelaide amidst the joyful sympathies of the colonists. It was not Mr. Stephens alone who showed kindness to the good man; his house became the home of the family, but the settlers liberally contributed for the purchase of a wardrobe and library.

There seemed a purpose in this *accident* beyond the will of man or the waves of the ocean. The little Wesleyan Church, already formed, and breathing many prayers for a pastor, regarded this stray vessel on their wild coast as an answer to their appeals. The sea had thrown upon their shore for them a man who had sailed for another mission. They told him so.

What could he think? Providence had permitted the *Fanny* to strike that sandy beach, and yet his life had been spared. Though not like Jonah bound for Tarshish against the will of God, it might not have been that will. The sea had given him up to the land, as it did the prophet of old. What could this mean? He thought he saw the hand, and bowed. "Yes," said he to the imploring people, "I will stay with you."

It was in this way that the Methodists of South Australia got their first minister. And though his feeble health did not permit a long sojourn, he remained to bless many, and to build up a large and convenient chapel.

Four years after his shipwreck I met him at the Retreat of New Norfolk, in Tasmania. Then I heard his story of the past, and there I formed an estimate of his kindly spirit and his simple piety. He did not long sojourn here; but the remembrance of the happy days of Adelaide brought his good widow back again to the banks of the Torrens, where in after years I had the pleasure of renewing friendship.

THE INDEPENDENTS OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

CONGREGATIONALISM nowhere in the Colonies presents so fair a feature to the historian as in South Australia. One point of interest lies in its connexion with the Rev. Thomas Binney, of Weigh House Chapel, London. That gentleman from the first took the liveliest interest in the proceedings of the Commissioners of the new colony, and, by his personal influence, contributed in no small degree to the success of that most interesting colonization scheme. By his eloquent appeals, and by his individual effort, the cause of religious freedom was sustained in the discussions of the day. It was doubtless owing to his interest in the movement that so large a number of the original colonists were of the Independent communion.

The Rev. T. Q. Stow, of Halstead, Essex, was an enthusiast for colonization, and offered himself for the ministerial work in the new colony. The designation service was conducted by Mr. Binney, at the Weigh

House Chapel, in May, 1837. The selection was a happy one. A better man, or a man better fitted for such a work, under such circumstances, could hardly have been obtained. His energy in combating with difficulties, his self-denial in troubles, his courage under reverses, his genuine piety, his intellectual ardour, and his benevolent zeal, made him adapted to the trials of the times, and fitted for a leader in moral life. He suffered much from penury himself, from the sorrows of his friends, from the dependency of the colony. He lived to see the triumph of the cause he loved, and to share in the prosperity of the land so dear to him. His Church flourished, and his fame was established. He lived to a green old age, honoured and beloved by all.

For the first seven months after his arrival, in October, 1837, he lived under canvas. "Our trials have been great," he wrote; "these however, we have, I think, borne with tolerable cheerfulness, interrupted only by anxieties arising from the heavy expenses of living." Well he might be anxious, with a large family, and bread at three shillings a loaf!

His first chapel, in North Terrace, Adelaide, was forty feet long and twenty broad. It was of a very composite order of architecture. Wooden posts were driven into the soil, against these a few palings were nailed in one part, reeds plastered over with clay covered another part, while canvas concealed some deformities. A foundation of a better building was laid in Freeman-Street, in December, 1839. That chapel

was opened in November, 1840. The Rev. John Eggleston, Wesleyan minister, conducted one of the opening services, and the Sunday collection was £112. The good man might well say "we greatly enjoy our change from our barn to this beautiful edifice."

The next work to which Mr. Stow directed his energies, was that of education. He sought to establish a Congregational college, and endeavoured to raise £4000 in subscriptions for the object. This was the first attempt to provide the colonies with a native trained ministry. "It will be of great importance," said he, "to have a race of ministers under training in the colonies who shall feel that this is their own proper home; who shall feel perfectly at home; who shall have no sensitive, fastidious, European shrinking from the primitive, economical, rough work of a bush pastor, or a colonial itinerant."

This noble project was arrested by the terrible panic that visited South Australia in 1841. It was such a season of distress in all Australia, but especially in the settlements of Adelaide and Melbourne, as has never been experienced since. There was an arrest of emigration, and the endurance of painful poverty. Mr. Stow was compelled to draw aid from the Colonial Missionary Society. The privations of the settlers were severe. An almost total paralysis of trade took place. But the thorough British spirit of resolute energy rescued the colony, and the superior moral character of the inhabitants was never so manifested as during this trying period.

Helpers in the work of religion came. A veteran, Mr. Newlands, settled at Encounter Bay, in 1839, and the Rev. J. M. Strongman, at Kensingson, in 1848.

In 1840, Mr. Stow was engaged in the voluntary Church movement. Governor Gawler had been prevailed upon to re-open the State aid question in an indirect way. He could not promise treasury salaries, he could not make grants of lands; but he proposed affording facilities to the various denominations for the purchase of lands, at five shillings an acre, and for their investment in trust, as permanent Church endowments. Mr. Stow opposed this as an insidious mode of introducing the obnoxious measure. He condemned the indiscriminate support to truth and error at the same time. He declared, "Religion has been long dishonoured in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, by the jealousies and sparring of the rival Churches of England and Scotland, to say nothing of the feeling excited by the position of the Catholics, and the dissatisfaction with all those on the part of other sects."

THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN ADELAIDE.

It was in January, 1838, that the first clergyman of this Church arrived in Adelaide. The Rev. C. B. Howard received his licence from the Bishop of Australia, but his support from the Society for Pro-

moting Christian Knowledge. A grant had been made for the construction of a little wooden church the year before. The minister brought out the framework of his parsonage from England. He personally aided in the building of his wooden sanctuary. The foundation of a stone church, to be called Trinity, was laid January 26, 1838. Mr. Howard died in 1843, at the age of thirty-three.

The Rev. James Farrell, subsequently dean, reached Adelaide in September, 1840. He opened St. John's Church in October the following year. The Rev. W. T. Woodcock relieved the loneliness of Mr. Farrell, in 1846. He held a high conception of his mission; and, in the feebleness of his Church in that colonial period, was conscious of the responsibility he shared with Mr. Farrell, in the care of Protestantism in South Australia. He absolutely ignored the ministerial existence of gentlemen whose congregations then exceeded his own. His proud disdain of other forms of Protestantism characteristically appeared in his official letter of 1846, to the London Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He therein acknowledges their effort, as he says, "to establish our Church here upon a broad and solid basis, and thereby preserving this important colony from ignorance, superstition, irreligion, infidelity, and multiform dissent."

One body alone of this "multiform dissent," at that very time, and has ever since, greatly outnumbered the members of his own Church in South Australia.

THE FIRST BISHOP OF ADELAIDE.

Bishop Broughton, of Sydney, who knew too well the evil consequences of his Church being left so many years without a head in New South Wales, was not likely to be indifferent to the establishment of the colony of South Australia. He cared for the members of his Church. When a clergyman appeared there, he intimated some line of action to be pursued. The Rev. C. B. Howard declined to recognise his supremacy, or act under his instructions.

What was to be done? As the metropolitan of Australia, Dr. Broughton really believed in his right to control the clergyman of Adelaide, as that settlement was reputed to lie in a portion of Australia. He would, however, remove the shadow of objection to his claims. In May, 1839, he wrote home for the opinion of the Government. "I have to regret," said he, "the occasion which has compelled me at such length to trespass on the attention of your lordship, but the evils attendant on leaving a portion of the Church exempt from the control of the diocesan, to which I am aware it was intended it should be subject, would be so serious that I trust to this consideration as my apology;" so Lord John Russell replied, and acknowledged his right there.

The same independent spirit which originated the South Australian Association, and which directed the counsels of the infant colony, influenced the clergy in the desire of emancipation from the government of a

diocesan in another colony. So important a step could not be taken at once; the circumstances were peculiar. A bishop was required for a branch of the Church of England in a locality where that Church was not officially recognised, and where no State support could be secured for his own personal maintenance. The liberality of a lady, Miss Burdett Coutts, delivered the Episcopal friends from the one grave difficulty. An endowment for a bishop was provided, and a bishop was at once appointed.

The Rev. Dr. Augustus Short, of Christ Church, Oxford, had been, before his removal to the see of Adelaide, vicar of Ravensthorpe, Northamptonshire. As a senior wrangler, as an eminent classic, as a genial man, the selection appeared satisfactory to the colony. He arrived in December, 1847. His first sermon was from Psa. cvii. 30: "So He brought them to the haven where they would be." He was received by nine clergymen. The first confirmation took place at Trinity Church, March 9th, 1848, when sixty-eight candidates appeared. The first ordination was held June 29th, 1848.

In 1849 he was called to exercise what he regarded as his episcopal rights, for another claimant appeared to the title of Bishop of Adelaide. A solemn protest was entered "against an act and every act of episcopal authority done, or to be done, by any person whatever, by virtue of any right or title derived from the assumed claim of the Bishop of Rome to ecclesiastical authority." There were those in the colony

who considered that as the two learned men were simply bishops of the members of their own respective communions, and that in a colony where all denominations were equal in the sight of the law, neither one had a right to assume the name of "Adelaide," as though the place itself were in some way under their jurisdiction.

Bishop Short took an active part in the Church Congress at Sydney. His views coincided with those of his brethren of Sydney and Tasmania, and differed from those of Dr. Perry, of Melbourne. Speaking of the vexed question of baptism, he boldly maintained his opinions, but was alive to the principles of charity. He called the sacrament of baptism "an effectual sign of grace." He assumed that it involved "a real relation to God—that is, to those persons; consequently, adoption, justification, sanctification." He added, "All or none. I hope all, I believe all, and in charity, love to God and man, I affirm all—yet I could not cast out of the Church a pious man who, seeing this to be a great mystery, and trembling at God's sovereign decrees (as he believes), dares not affirm so confidently as I can, and do." All honour to his charity.

THE LUTHERANS IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

South Australia has been called the refuge of the oppressed, and the home of the free. It alone of all

the Australian colonies was untainted with the presence of crime. No transported felons were ever permitted to land upon its shores or cross its borders. A popular government was established. Religion was free. It presented neither the exclusiveness of Rome nor that of Geneva.

When, therefore, a persecution arose in Germany, and a number of men suffered the loss of goods for conscience' sake, even in that Protestant country, because their evangelical views were confronted by an establishment that denied freedom of dissent, South Australia opened its port to receive them. By the munificence of Mr. George Fife Angas, the real founder of the colony, a number of these German pietists were placed upon farms in the sunny land.

They removed under the care of their worthy pastors, and vineyards and oliveyards, cornfields and orchards, were spread through the fertile valleys of the provinces by this industrious and excellent people. The *South Australian* thus notices the event in May, 1839: "Driven from their native country because they would not yield to the worst kind of tyranny, which seeks to rivet chains on men's minds, and dictate to them their faith, they came hither, erected their altar among us, and are now presenting us with a model of practical colonization well worthy our individual imitation."

NO CHURCH STATE AID IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

At no period, perhaps, in the history of the world was colonization so discussed as it was in England nearly forty years ago. Able men treated the subject philosophically; politicians reviewed it as affecting the welfare of commonwealths: philanthropists spoke of it as the panacea for misery; and practical persons contemplated it as a means of bettering their fortunes. All shades of opinion were expressed, and most sanguine expectations were indulged. For the first time it formed a question of serious debate in Parliament, and received a strong and even enthusiatic support from statesmen of high authority and well known benevolence.

Out of this discussion upon colonization arose the three colonies of Western Australia, South Australia, and New Zealand. Novel principles of government were to be tried there, and advanced views of human progress were to be developed there.

Among the subjects of inquiry was that of religion. It was asked whether this national emigration was to be assisted with Church establishments or not. The old colonies of New South Wales and Tasmania were provided with a State Church; though, subsequently, other denominations were permitted to approach and receive the State loaf. It was contended by some that this laxity of Church principles would eventually lead to the decline of piety and growth of atheism in the colonies, but that the evil might be averted by the

re-establishment of Episcopalian supremacy, and absolute exclusiveness of right to the charms of the public treasury. Others thought the revival of piety, and the acknowledged decrease of crime in these old penal settlements, might be attributed to the development of religious freedom there, which permitted the expansion of other ecclesiastical bodies. The Roman Catholics, the Presbyterians, and the Wesleyans, believed that the State aid they received had enabled them to occupy ground they could never otherwise have done, and so reached the consciences of men that would not have been awakened. Many others, not sectarian in their prejudices, were strenuous supporters of Church aid, on the principle that religion was a good check upon social disorders, and that clergymen, of whatever name or opinion, were useful as moral policemen.

But it so happened that the majority of those interested in the great colonizing movement of the day had doubts of the advantage of either system. They regarded the dominancy of one Church an injustice, and esteemed the favouring of all Churches a folly. As Protestants they objected to the endowment of Popery, and as Roman Catholics they demurred to their exclusion from the *chest*. On the whole, they thought that each party should support their own system, and not be called upon, through the Government, to aid the promulgation of views to which they were conscientiously opposed.

When the colony of South Australia was established

under the auspices of an association, the principle of simple non-interference with religious opinions was adopted. Each denomination, whether Protestant Episcopal, Roman Catholic Episcopal, Presbyterian, Congregational, or Wesleyan, was to stand alone, without favour, without State support, but without prejudice.

From 1836 to 1848 this state of things continued. It survived the terrible commercial distress of 1841 and 1842, and it remained upon the transference of the province from the proprietorship of a private company to its becoming a Crown colony.

In 1848 a successful effort was made to establish the system adopted in New South Wales, but even more liberal in character. All denominations were proclaimed equal in the eyes of the law, and all were invited to the State feast. But the specific grants were made dependent upon the attendants on Sunday service, and the amount of cash raised by voluntary effort. In this way, the Wesleyans, because of their zeal, their energy, and their liberality, obtained far more proportionate assistance for chapel building and ministerial support than other bodies. As to Independents, Baptists, and many individual members of the other denominations, strongly opposed to change in the constitution, the State aid was declared an experiment limited to a term of three years. In 1851 the Colonial Parliament reversed the decree of 1848, and the colony is once more free of State aid.

The Church of England in South Australia sensibly

felt the change. The bishop thus stated the case :—"Our difficulty lies in the comparative poverty of our gentry, and the want of habit of giving and paying for the support of religion on the part of the labouring classes." Again, he wrote in his despair to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel :—"Our people are faithless as to paying the clergy : without help from England they would be starved out, or miserably supported."

In justice to the Adelaide Episcopalians it must be said, that this reproach is now removed by their liberality toward their Church, and their real interest in its affairs. The system has worked satisfactorily, moreover, in its promotion of fraternal feeling among religionists of different faiths. They have learned charity in respect to the conscientious belief of their neighbours, the force of nationality, and the influence of educational training.

THE END.

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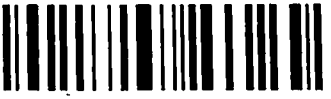

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